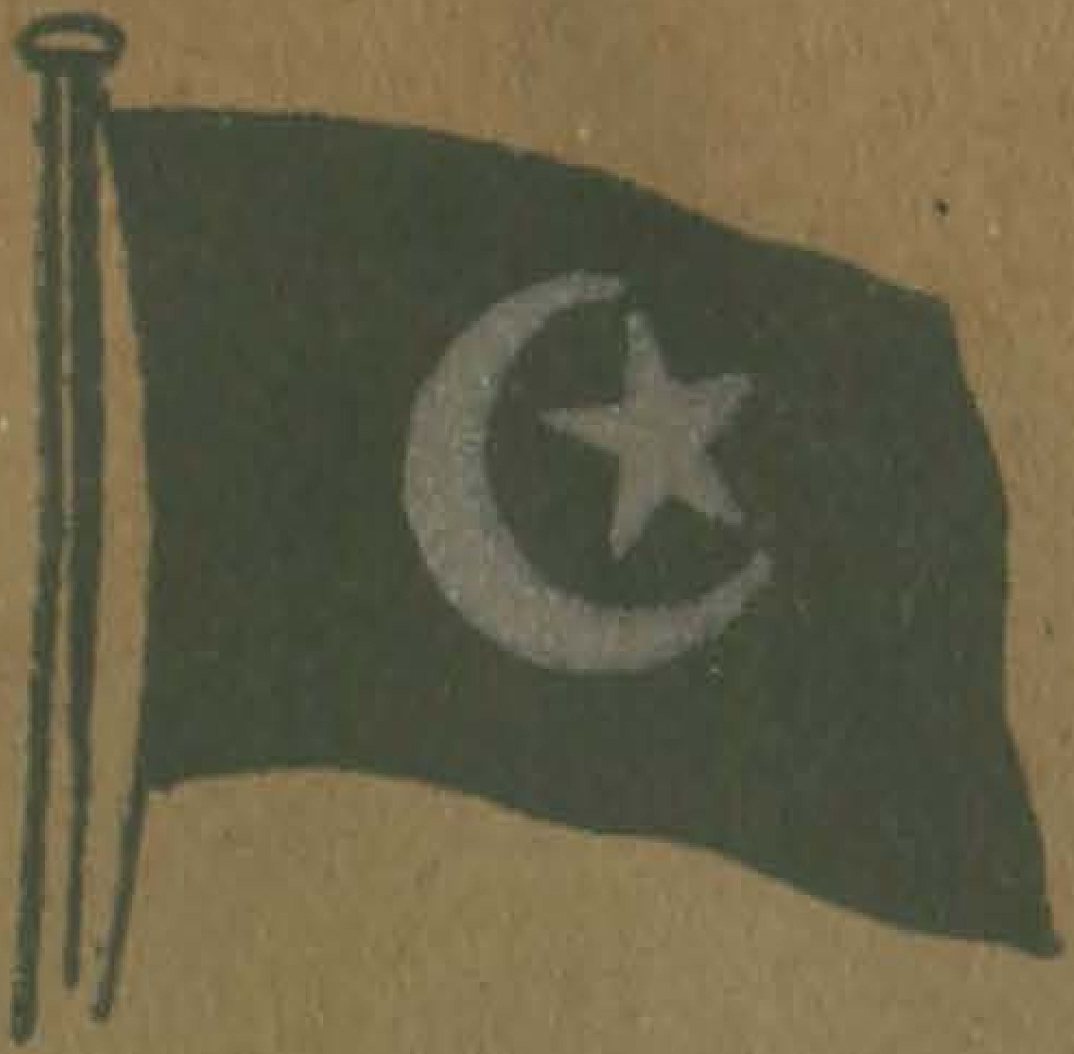


REPORT

OF THE

INQUIRY COMMITTEE

APPOINTED BY

THE COUNCIL OF THE

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TO INQUIRE

INTO MUSLIM GRIEVANCES

IN CONGRESS PROVINCES

President:

RAJA SYED MOHAMAD MEHDI OF PIRPUR.

Published by:

(*Nawabzada*) **Liaquat Ali Khan,** M. A., (Oxon),
M. L. A., (U. P.) BARRISTER-AT-LAW.
HONORARY SECRETARY: ***All India Muslim League.***

To

M. A. JINNAH, Esq.,
PRESIDENT,
All-India Muslim League.

SIR,

The Council of the All-India Muslim League passed the following resolution at its meeting, held on March 20, 1938, at Delhi :

"Whereas numerous complaints have reached the Central Office of the hardship, ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to the Muslims in various Congress Government Provinces and particularly to those who are workers and members of the Muslim League, the Council resolves that a special committee be appointed consisting of the following members to collect all informations, make all necessary inquiries, and take such steps as may be considered proper and to submit their report to the President and the Council from time to time: Raja Syed Mohammad Mehdi (*Chairman*), Mr. A. B. Habibullah (*Secretary*), Khan Bahadur Haji Rashid Ahmad, Syed Ashraf Ahmad, Molvi Abdul Ghani, M.L.A., Mian Ghias-ud-din, M.L.A., Syed Zakir Ali, Syed Hasan Riaz, Syed Taqi Hadi Naqvi."

In pursuance of the above resolution we started our inquiry immediately and finished our work (so far as the present report is concerned) in the last week of October, 1938.

During our extensive tour of all the six Congress Provinces, namely, the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay, we collected both written and oral evidence from all sections of Muslims, specially the local M.L.A.s and Muslim League branches. In some parts of the country we also received co-operation from non-Muslims as well and they helped us with their evidence on important incidents. We take this opportunity of thanking all these people for providing us with valuable information which has been incorporated in this report.

The report is divided in three parts. The first two parts deal with the general principles and causes of conflict between the Muslims and the Congress. The thi[rd] part deals in detail with the grievances of the Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We have endeavoured our best to examine the problem as a whole dispassionately, particularly the Muslim grievances. We believe that the grievances, which we have incorporated in our report, are just, real and genuine and will, we hope, open the eyes of the Congress leaders.

Numerous other instances, beside those incorporated in the report, were brought to our notice. We have purposely withheld them not because we doubted their veracity but because of the exigency of space. We have only iucluded typical instances of the various types. Then we have not included instances of Congress interference with the official machinery of the State. Firstly, because it is very difficult, almost impossible, to get evidence on such matters and secondly because the fact of widespread attempt on the part of Congressmen to influence official machinery has been even pointed out by the Hon'ble Judges of the Allahabad High Court in their judgment in the Contempt of Court case against Dr. Mukerji.

Mian Ghias-ud-din, M.L.A., did not take any part in the proceedings of the Committee while Molvi Abdul Ghani, M.L.A., another member, toured with the Committee in Behar and rendered every possible help to the Committee in that province. He, however, fell ill and was not able to participate in the proceedings of the Committee thereafter.

We have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servants,
(RAJA) SYED MOHAMMAD MEHDI
of Pirpur, *Chairman*.
A. B. HABIBULLAH, *Secretary*.
SYED ASHARAF AHMAD.
SYED HASAN RIYAZ.
SYED TAQI HADI NAQVI.
SYED ZAKIR ALI.

LUCKNOW:
November 15, 1938.

PART I—GENERAL SURVEY.

PART II—THE CONFLICT AND ITS CAUSES.

PART III—DETAILS OF MUSLIMS' GRIEVANCES.

PART I.—GENERAL SURVEY.

The Communal Problem.

The communal problem in India has long defied settlement. It has been approached by the responsible leaders of various communities and political parties from different angles, but each attempt to arrive at a final and satisfactory settlement has generally resulted in increased bitterness, because, during the pendency of negotiations, it is usually the first and foremost endeavour of each party to put the other in the wrong and throw upon it the whole blame for the failure of the peace parleys. The problem is so baffling that there is a tendency on the part of some of the leaders to adopt the ostrich-like policy of ignoring the problem altogether, or at least of deferring its solution till such time as India is "free". In our humble opinion, however, the problem is a real one and the sooner it is solved the better will it be for the country. To postpone its decision is simply to create a vicious circle : the communal problem can only be solved when India is free : India can only be free when the communal problem is solved. Such a circle can lead us nowhere and will only make the country a prey to any foreign exploiter.

Recently the minorities have been asked to think in terms of international politics and appeals have been made to present a united front to protect India against the perils involved in the international situation. It has been deemed sufficient to assure the minorities in repeated resolutions, which have now assumed a monotonous formality, that their "language, culture and religion" will be protected and the minorities are expected to accept these assurances without any further safeguards. In our opinion this is a wholly incorrect approach of the problem. The communal problem remains unsettled not because of the communalism of the minorities, but because of the communalism of the majorities. In each province it is for the majority

community to win the confidence of the minority, and this can only be done by deeds and not by words.

No one who is familiar with Indian affairs would deny the fact that the Congress has failed to inspire confidence in the minorities and has failed to carry them with it in spite of its oft-repeated resolution guaranteeing religious and cultural liberty to the various communities because its actions are not in conformity with its words. Consequently, though it has succeeded in bringing to its fold a few Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, the Congress continues to be a predominantly Hindu organisation and the majority of its members, in spite of their pretensions to nationalism, are still imbued with narrow communalism.

Intoxicated with power after their success in the last general election, the leaders of the Congress initiated a closed-door policy by declaring that they were opposed to the formation of coalitions or alliances with any other party in the legislatures. The fact that separation and exclusiveness is not conducive to the evolution of a common national life was conveniently lost sight of in the hour of triumph.

We in India have been brought up in the traditions of the British parliamentary democracy and the constitution foisted on us is also modelled, more or less, on the British pattern. There is, however, an essential difference between the body politic of this country and that of Britain. The majority and minority parties in Britain are interchangeable: their complexion and strength go on changing with the conditions of the country. To-day a National Government is in power, but the Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties have an equal chance of running the government of the country. Here, in India, we have a permanent Hindu majority and the other communities are condemned to the position of perpetual minority. Thus it is easy for the majority to assume a non-communal label and do things communal under the cloak of nationalism.

Any attempt to apply the Western principles of nationalism without paying due regard to the peculiar

conditions of the country is bound to confuse the issue. For the evolution of healthy nationalism, advancement of the country on the path of freedom, it is absolutely necessary that this problem, at once so important and so full of difficulties, should be dispassionately examined and clearly stated.

The Indian National Congress' conception of nationalism is based on the establishment of a national state of the majority community in which other nationalities and communities have only secondary rights. The Muslim think that no tyranny can be great as the tyranny of the majority and they believe that only that state can be stable which gives equal rights and equal opportunities to all communities no matter how small. They attach great importance to this principle, which alone can safeguard the rights of the Muslims and other minorities. The Muslims have made it clear more than once that besides the question of religion, culture, language and personal laws, there is another question equally important for their future. They must secure definitely their political rights and their due share in the national life, government and administration of the country.

INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE.

Peculiar Characteristics.

All serious students of the Indian problem will concede that the communal question of this country is quite different from the minority problems of other countries. Attempts are often made to take examples from foreign countries and to fasten them to Indian conditions, but it is forgotten that there is no other country in the world where the curse of untouchability still prevails. Religious and linguistic differences, to a small extent, certainly do exist in other countries too, but nowhere do we find the caste system so rigid as it is to-day in India.

Vernasharam not only keeps other communities outside the fold of the Hindu community, but it also does not allow certain classes of Hindus themselves to

enjoy the same privileges as are enjoyed by the "twice-born" classes. There are certain vocations of life which can only be taken up by the depressed classes or the untouchables. The sanitary work in towns, cities and villages falls to their lot alone. They alone can dispose of the dead bodies of animals, work as scavengers and sweepers and perform other menial services. Even in the performance of religious and social functions they are not allowed the same rights and facilities as are enjoyed by the "twice-born" communities.

Such being the fate of some of those classes who, though worshipping different gods, rejoice to call themselves Hindus, the position of the Muslims, who differ from the majority community not only in their religious belief, but also cling to a different cultural outlook, can very well be understood and appreciated. This difference in outlook between the various communities not only separates them politically but also divides them economically.

It is true that people of different religions, castes and creeds are found in some trades, but such cases are rare. The Government services are open to all, *but the undeniable fact remains that the caste of an individual determines his vocation* in life. The various trades in the country are more or less monopolised by different castes. If an outsider tries to enter a certain profession, not generally open to his community, he meets with serious obstacles. He is opposed not on pure business principles: prejudices of religion and caste, more often than not, dictate the attitude of his rivals in trade towards him.

Business is thus divided into water-tight compartments. In commercial life careers are not open to talent. All communities have been affected by this system and it may safely be said that the effect of the division of economic life on the basis of caste has been so marked that in the majority of cases the religion, caste and community of a person can be inferred from his profession. Under these conditions it is even possible to damage trade interests of a particular

community by enacting legislation on purely medical or sanitary grounds ; and policies which, in other countries, would be purely economic are, in India generally, based upon communalism. There have been numerous instances in which discriminatory taxation has been imposed on a certain commodity on apparently economic grounds, though the real motive has been purely communal.

Thus what may appear to a foreigner a purely economic question can be the source of real friction between communities. Religious passions of the ignorant masses can be excited on a question that on the face of it appears quite harmless.

In countries where professions are freely chosen and the commercial community consists of people joined together by common interests this possibility does not exist. But, as we have pointed out above, conditions in India are quite different . In other countries a taxation measure adopted by the legislature would equally affect all communities which constitute a certain trade or profession and its consequences can be termed national. But in India the majority of people affected by a similar measure will belong to a particular community, caste or religion. Thus even an economic measure, which is national elsewhere, assumes a communal complexion in this country. It is easy for governments and local bodies to justify such discriminatory legislation by Western standards, to term it national and economic and to dismiss the just and reasonable protest of a particular community vitally affected by accusing it of narrow communalism. People who are not familiar with the conditions that subsist in this country can very easily be persuaded to condemn the protest of such a community against whose interests such measures are so cleverly conceived.

Congress leaders have declared in season and out of season that the Congress will always think in terms of the poor, but in the course of our inquiry it has been shown and proved to us that discrimination has been made in the case of Muslim peasants and workers by

the Congress and Socialist organisations. Agents of zemindars and capitalists have given communal colour to disputes that were purely economic. And once communal colour was given the poor victims of oppression were deprived of all protection from the very organisations which boast of nationalism.

The details of the incidents and atrocities committed in the village Tilkori, Hazaribagh district, Bihar, have become known to the public through newspaper reports and we need not recapitulate them in detail at this stage. We may however, point out that only a short time before this incident there was a minor quarrel between a Congress volunteer and a Muslim landowner in the same district. Full inquiry was made into this incident and a huge public meeting was held and the occasion was thought fit for the visit of a Parliamentary Secretary. Strong protests were made and a big demonstration was staged.

The incident at Tilkori took place shortly afterwards. The victims were the poorest inhabitants of the village who graze the cattle of the well-to-do Brahmans and live on small plots of land let out to them in exchange for their services. There was no Muslim League organisation in the neighbourhood. The poor victims of the atrocities had to cover a distance of 40 miles on foot to reach the headquarters of the district from where some Muslim lawyers sent information to the headquarters of the Provincial Muslim League. On receiving the information, the Secretary of the League proceeded to the spot and made inquiries and issued his statement. One cannot help asking why the local Congress organisation maintained complete silence during the eight days that elapsed between the incident and the arrival of the Secretary of the Muslim League and why no inquiry was instituted by the Congress or the Provincial Congress Government.

Then, in the village Seewan, in a sub-division of the Saran district in Behar, the houses of certain Muslims were set on fire. When Mr. Abdul Ghani, M.L.A., arrived at the scene of the incident, some houses were

still burning. This village happens to be near the village of Babu Rajendra Prasad, a former President of the Indian National Congress and a member of the Congress Working Committee. It is surprising, however, that no representative of the party, which claims to be a national organisation, came to the rescue of the sufferers and up till now no political organisation, except the Muslim League, seems to have taken any notice of the incident.

Then again, hundreds of workers of Rahli, Saugor district, Central Provinces, were turned out by the *Bidi* manufacturers for no greater fault than voting for the candidate in whom they had confidence. It was a matter of principle and a narrow communal outlook should not have stood in the way of the vindication of the rights of the workers to use their vote freely. But no political or labour organisation, not even the much boasted Civil Liberties Union, came to the rescue of these helpless workers and not a voice of protest was raised against the tyranny of the Hindu *Bidi* manufacturers. These dismissed workers had to leave their homes and go to the cities of Saugor and Nagpur to earn their living.

Yet, in spite of these incidents, propaganda is done in and outside India that the Congress Ministries have restored civil liberty and the poorest peasant has felt the lifting of a great burden. There can be no doubt, at least so far as the Muslims are concerned, that civil liberty, though much advertised, does not exist. The tendency to show discrimination on communal grounds in rendering help and carrying on relief work among the oppressed and the poor is a unique feature of the Congress organisation of this country.

On the other hand we are glad to note that during the Cawnpore labour strike, the District Muslim League there showed no distinction between Hindu and Muslim workers and helped everybody irrespective of his religious beliefs. The Cawnpore League distributed food and other necessaries of life to the Hindu and

Muslim workers with equal consideration. Similarly, during the recent floods in the eastern districts of the United Provinces Muslim League volunteers in Bahraich, Gonda, Basti and other places rescued Hindus and Muslims alike, sometimes even at the risk of their own lives.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

The growing tendency of political parties to become more and more communal is the chief danger to which democracy is exposed in India. In other countries, political parties are formed on such a basis that the majority and minority parties are interchangeable. Those who vote for Socialists to-day, can, if they feel dissatisfied, support the Nationalists or Conservatives to-morrow. The strength and following of various political parties vary according to the confidence they inspire among the people and to the extent they are able to fulfil their election pledges. Moreover, the success of a government is reflected in the popularity of its legislative measures and constant efforts are needed to maintain the majority.

In India, owing to the existence of a permanent religious majority, the complexion of political parties is quite different from those in other democracies. There is always a danger that a party, composed mainly of members of a particular community or followers of a particular religion may pass under the name of a nationalist party. Such a party is exposed to the temptation of raising the communal bogey in order to keep together its dissatisfied elements, who are too insistent on the fulfilment of election pledges, and thus to continue in perpetual majority.

Expectations were raised high by the promises made during the last general elections by the Congress to better the condition of the poor. The Muslims being the poorest community in India were the first to show disaffection towards the Congress because they felt that its economic programme was a mere camouflage to enlist their support at the elections and brought

them no substantial relief. In any other country these poor classes could have gone over to the opposition without being dubbed communalists.

Speaking at the Students' Federation meeting at Calcutta Mr. M. A. Jinnah stated that the League's fight was not against the Hindu community but against the Congress High Command. The Muslim League Party was allowed to coalesce with other progressive groups or parties whose ideals were nearly the same. This makes it clear that the aim of the Muslim League was not to wage war against other communities in India but to organise the Muslims and devote its energy to the solution of political and economic problems that face the country as a whole.

In order to work with other communities the programme of the Muslim League has to be such as would make it possible for other communities to co-operate with it. If the Party adopts an aggressive communal attitude it would be impossible to maintain harmony with other communities. Thus it is to the advantage of the Muslims to have a truly national and liberal programme so that others may co-operate with them. On the other hand if the Muslim League chooses a narrow and communal policy, the Muslims will be condemned to perpetual minorities in almost all the provinces of India. They will be deprived of all opportunity of having, at any time, an effective voice in the administration of the country. Even in each of the two major Muslim Provinces—the Punjab and Bengal— it is not possible for the Muslims to have a majority without the co-operation of other communities. Thus it is clear that the Muslim League cannot afford to take up an aggressive communal attitude. But unfortunately responsible Congressmen and a section of the Press have made it their duty to misrepresent the views of the leaders of the Muslim League and its activities.

The attitude of the Congress, however, made it impossible for the League to co-operate with it in spite of the efforts of a number of League leaders to maintain cordial relations. The just and legitimate demands

of the Muslims were regarded as an inconvenient feature of political life. Contemptuous offers were made to the leaders of the Muslim League. They were asked to liquidate the Muslim League Parliamentary Board, disband the League parties in the legislatures and to sign unconditionally the Congress pledge. To the patriotic Muslims such a course meant the denial of their right to organise themselves in order to maintain their separate identity and preserve their culture, and a complete surrender to the Party which, on its own admission, was mostly composed of Hindus and which had failed to win the confidence of the Muslim voters in the general election.

The Congress parties adopted the very methods for which they had hitherto condemned the British Government. Rival Muslim organisations were started and spoon-fed by Congress Cabinets and Committees. Attempts were made not only to disregard the true representatives of the Muslims, but a virulent campaign of vilification was started against the Muslim League and its leaders with the help of a few Muslims who signed the Congress pledge. The temptation of office was held out to those who joined the Congress and a few Muslims, who had been returned to the Legislatures on the ticket of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board, were persuaded to sign the Congress pledge and were given places in the Ministries as representatives of the Muslim masses.

It has been alleged that the cry of "Islam in Danger" was raised and the name of God was used by the League to secure votes. But the very party which has so vehemently made all these allegations felt doubts about the efficiency of its political and economic programme and adopted the same methods for which it condemned the Muslim League. As a matter of fact the Muslim Ulema working for the Congress dragged in religion to enlist support for the Congress candidates. In the Bijnor bye-election the Congress Muslim workers were dressed in the green Islamic colour, carried the Islamic flag with the Crescent and Star and raised the

cry of *Allah-o-Akbar* at their meetings. The Muslim League on the other hand never depended on the Ulema for its success. It was not the League that raised the cry of "Islam in Danger." It has been put into its mouth by its opponents. Every Muslim believes that Islam can never be in danger.

Again, it has been stated by responsible Congress leaders that because during the bye-elections the Muslim League candidates were standing on communal tickets, the Hindu zemindars, bankers and lawyers, who had so far opposed the Congress, preferred a Congress candidate. We are further told that the action of these people was not due to communalism, but was a reaction to communalism. This statement is falsified by the recent event at Fyzabad. In the bye-election for the Fyzabad General Constituency, though the Muslim League adopted a policy of indifference, certain Muslim zemindars and others were found supporting the Mahasabha candidate who possessed a much wider appeal. On the Congress platform too, side by side with Congress leaders of repute, were seen persons who were noted for their narrow communalism. One of these speakers had only been recently convicted for spreading communal hatred and had been released on bail pending appeal. We wonder if the average voter was given the fullest opportunity to distinguish between the Mahasabha candidate, standing on a purely communal ticket, and the Congress candidate, who stood on a "non communal" ticket.

In Bihar instances were brought to our notice of speeches tending to provoke communal feelings being made even at meetings attended by Parliamentary Secretaries and responsible Congressmen. Similarly, in the Central Provinces cases have been reported which go to substantiate the theory that there is something like identity of purpose between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. A person can be a member of the Congress and the Mahasabha at the same time, but this privilege is not extended to the Institution that represents the interests of a minority. When K. S. Abdur Rahman pointed out an occasion when even

Congress Ministers participated in the reception of the President of the Mahasabha and drew attention to the enthusiasm shown by Congressmen all over the Province at his receptions, Dr. Khare replied that he was present at one of the meetings and that Congressmen had gone there in their individual capacity. Technically, Dr. Khare was right, but one has to consider the impression that his conduct created in the mind of the man in the street, who must have read in it a complete identification between the so-called communal organisation of the Mahasabha, and the oft-proclaimed "national" institution of the Congress.

Popular imagination looks more to things that happen and gives them its own meaning and interpretation. Whatever may be the underlying principle of Congress nationalism and whatever may be the justification for the foregoing incidents, the fact remains that the average Hindu is inclined to associate Swaraj with Ram Raj and Congress Government with Hindu government. The Muslims feel that, notwithstanding the non-communal professions of the Congress and the desire of a few Congressmen to follow a truly national policy, a vast majority of the Congress members are Hindus who look forward, after many centuries of British and Muslim rule, to the re-establishment of purely Hindu Raj.

MUSLIM MASS CONTACT MOVEMENT

Its Repercussions.

The last provincial election brought home to the Congress High Command the fact that the prestige of the Congress as a national organisation was in danger. The decision of the Congress not to contest elections in Muslim constituencies generally and the overwhelming defeats of its Muslim candidates in the very few elections that it contested completely exposed the hollowness of its pretensions to represent the Muslim masses.

The significance of the Congress defeats becomes more pronounced in view of the fact that the Congress

possessed an unparalleled and a most powerful organisation in the country and that no Muslim party was in a position effectively to offer any strong opposition to it. The statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the defeats of the Congress candidates in the general election clearly shows that the Congress leadership was greatly alarmed at the opposition. But unfortunately, instead of trying to find out the real cause of this antipathy, the Congress High Command launched the Muslim Mass Contact Movement.

There are many Muslims who firmly believe that the Congress by this movement is trying to destroy Muslim solidarity and create disruption in the community. A number of Muslim workers have been employed to fight their co-religionists by a political party which is predominantly Hindu. Concerted efforts are being made not only to induce Muslims to join the Congress, but also to bring into disrepute the Muslim League.

It has been claimed that the Mass Contact Movement has been in existence for many years and only took a more definite shape at the Lucknow Congress of 1937. It has also been claimed that the movement had never been designed in terms of Muslims only nor was it merely confined to them.

To understand this movement properly, the methods employed by its promoters must be taken into consideration as well as its effect on the minority community.

Whatever be the idea behind this movement, it remains an undisputed fact that after the general election Mass Contact was carried on amongst the Muslim masses alone. We have not heard of the religious heads of other minorities working on behalf of the Congress to bring their co-religionists into its fold.

It has been asserted that only such Ulema as had associated with the Congress and were its old friends were asked to support the Congress candidates in the bye-elections. Besides, the candidates particularly asked for the support of such men. We think that the

argument put forward by an eminent leader of the Congress fully brings to light one fact. We all know that though Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his bye-election speeches, emphasised economic problems, the candidates themselves were not confident of the efficacy of this programme of the Congress in enlisting the support of the Muslim electors.

The activities of these Congress Ulema are not confined to those enumerated by the Congress leaders. Recently, just after a communal outbreak had occurred in Pilibhit, Seth Damodar Dass, accompanied by two Maulanas, visited the locality and issued a statement throwing the responsibility for the trouble on the Muslim League, which on inquiry proved to be unfounded. This fact throws some light on the use which is made of some of these learned theologians and also why so much importance is given to these old friends. We wonder if the majority of such persons could have a place in any self-respecting organisation. We can now understand the reluctance of the Congress to recognise the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslims for this would deprive it of such convenient tools as the Ulema who went to Pilibhit with the Bareilly Congress President.

The Congress secured overwhelming majorities in five provinces and a working majority in the sixth as the result of the first general election held under the new reforms. The attention of the whole of India was focussed on the Congress and its decision on acceptance of office was eagerly awaited. Everyone believed that a new era would set in with the acceptance of office by the Congress. It was generally taken for granted by progressive Muslims that the gulf that had existed so long between the various communities in India would be bridged once for all, that the differences, for which an alien government had been held responsible so far, would disappear and that all progressive national elements, whose political ideals were similar, would be brought together for the service of the Motherland, and would work a common programme for the freedom of the country.

It was at this moment that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Congress President, launched the Muslim Mass Contact programme in right earnest. It was pointed out to the Muslims that the real fight was for bread and butter and there was no sense in their keeping aloof under the banner of the Muslim League. But, as we have pointed out in an earlier chapter, even economics in India is communal. Urdu newspapers were started to carry on Congress propaganda among the Muslims and every attempt was made to win over the Muslims. A campaign of vilification against Muslim League leaders, specially Mr. Jinnah, formed a part of this movement. An attempt was also made to set up a rival organisation to the All-India Muslim League under the name "Azad" Muslim League. It was further declared that the Congress, in view of its principles of nationalism, could not enter into an alliance with any communal organisation however national may be the latter's policy and programme. Since then, however, we have seen how this declaration has been stretched to make it possible for the Congress to form ministries in the Frontier and Assam as it suited the interests of the majority community.

It was but natural for patriotic Muslims to feel aggrieved at the attitude taken up by the Congress High Command. The change in the attitude of the Congress leaders, specially those of the United Provinces, was simply a revelation. Though the Mass Contact Movement was on the programme of the Congress no one heard about it until the general election was over and Congress majorities were assured. Even then the Congress leaders, who made and unmade Cabinets and who appointed and dismissed Ministers, avoided the Muslim masses and employed Maulvis to convert the Muslim masses to the Congress creed. The Maulvis, having no voice in the moulding of the Congress policy and programme, naturally could not promise to solve the real difficulties of the masses, a promise which would have drawn the masses towards the Congress. The Maulvis and others employed for the work adopted the line of least resistance by creating a

division among the Muslim masses by carrying on a most unworthy propaganda against the leaders of the Muslim League. Under these circumstances it was but natural for the Muslims to conclude that this movement was directed only to lure the Muslims into the Congress fold and a policy of "divide and rule" was being followed by the Congress to avoid a settlement with the Muslim community on the real issues.

It will not be out of place here to point out that in other countries where political situations are complicated by religious and racial differences, no political party would think of adopting such methods of propaganda as would lead to emphasise the religious differences between various communities. In Great Britain when the question of Irish Home Rule was put in the forefront of the Liberal Party's programme by Gladstone, in spite of a split in the Party itself, no mass contact movement was started to bring the Protestants of Ulster into the fold of the Liberal Party. Discrimination on a communal basis is the last thing to be undertaken by a party which forms the Government.

The Congress Governments should give the right lead to the country. They should attempt to work on the principles of true nationalism and gain the confidence of the minorities by removing all their suspicions. It was the failure of the Congress in this respect which, together with the correct lead given by the Muslim League and its policy and programme, helped to make the League, in such a short time, such a powerful and representative organisation of the Muslims of India.

PART II—THE CONFLICT:

And Its Causes.

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CONGRESS.

With the acceptance of office the Congress found itself in circumstances which were not dissimilar to those which face belligerent nations after an armistice. We all remember how after the Great War different countries faced this problem. The success and stability of each government depended upon the measure of success with which this problem was tackled. Work had to be found for disbanded soldiers and gigantic efforts were needed on the part of the governments to turn the warlike energies of the nations into peaceful pursuits of trade and industry.

When the Congress governments were formed direct conflict with the British Government ceased. The chief objective, which had so far brought together the different elements within the Congress fold, was lost sight of in the general scramble for power and the ideal for which the people had worked since 1920 was abandoned, at least temporarily. The course of true statesmanship for the Congress Cabinets lay in creating a calm and peaceful atmosphere and class wars and defiance of lawful authority were the last things to be encouraged at the juncture.

Unfortunately these were the things which were encouraged most. The authority of the police and other government agencies, which were so far responsible for the maintenance of law and order, was defied. People of a particular community were encouraged to believe that the government was now theirs. Instances of intimidation and defiance of lawful authority increased in number every day.

A section of responsible leaders created the impression that every member of the Congress enjoyed a privileged position and every Congressman became

conscious of the fact that by virtue of belonging to the party in power he could influence the administrative machinery. Several Muslim speakers drew pointed attention to this state of affairs in their speeches on the adjournment motion in the U. P. Legislative Assembly on the communal disturbances. They stated that great mischief had been done by the Chief Secretary's circular asking the District Officers to consult the local Congress Committees. This had resulted in the demoralisation of the local officials, who could not take up an independent attitude on delicate matters. Congressmen had taken up the position of non-official advisers to local officials and selfish people utilised the situation for their own benefit and for mischievous ends.

People were encouraged to do what they liked and to say whatever they wanted. Respect for lawful authority was undermined. In the *communique* issued by the Governor of the U. P. at the time of the resignation of the Cabinet over the question of release of political prisoners, reference was made to the disturbing nature of the activities of some of these men. It was pointed out that the release of prisoners had been made an occasion for widespread demonstrations of a revolutionary character which had created a great impression on the public mind. We think that if similar situations had occurred in other provinces as well we would have been able to quote many more pieces of evidence from such impartial sources.

The privileged position which the Congress workers enjoy and the way in which partiality is shown to them has been made clear in the remarks of the Judges of the Oudh Chief Court in the Hearsey case in which a Congress worker was one of the parties. Their Lordships felt compelled to point out that the filing of the appeal by the Government with no judicial justification was bound to create the impression that the fact that the complainant was the President of the local Congress Committee had something to do with it.

The way in which members of the Congress Party have interfered in the day-to-day administration of

justice has also been dealt with in several judgments of the Allahabad High Court. In the Contempt of Court case against Dr. Vishwanath Mukerji, a Congress M.L.A. from Gorakhpur, Their Lordships observed:

> "We have reason to believe that a large number of communications have been addressed to courts in this Province during the last month by persons on behalf of parties to cases and others interested in such cases. The two cases which we have just decided are the first of this class and having regard to the attitude adopted by Dr. Mukerji, we felt able to take a lenient view of these offences............It must be made clear to every one that this Court will not tolerate any attempt to bring pressure upon a judicial officer and particularly upon junior judicial officers who are not in a position to defend themselves. We have taken a lenient view of this case and we trust that such leniency will not be misunderstood."

We have received numerous complaints, supported by evidence, from Muslims that they have been bullied by local Congress organisations and have found it difficult to get even-handed justice. A sort of parallel government is being run by Congressmen. Wherever the police makes inquiries the local Congress organisation also starts its own independent investigations. The atmosphere is no longer congenial to the pursuit of ordinary vocations of life with freedom.

In spite of all this prominent Congress leaders lose no opportunity of repeating that one of the first acts of the Congress Cabinets was to restore the civil liberty of the people. We should like to know if this civil liberty is only meant for the members of the majority community.

In the succeeding chapters we discuss the various causes of conflict between the two major communities in India and how they have been aggravated by the short-sighted policies of Congress Governments.

BANDE MATRAM.

It was as a result of the intense resentment among the Muslim masses that the All-India Muslim League passed the following resolution on the Bande Matram issue at its Lucknow session :

> "This meeting of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the attitude of the Congress in foisting Bande Matram as the national anthem upon the country in callous disregard of the feelings of Muslims and considers this song not merely positively anti-Islamic and idolatrous in its inspiration and ideas, but definitely subversive of the growth of genuine nationalism in India."

> "This meeting further calls upon the Muslim members of the various Legislatures and public bodies in the country not to associate themselves in any manner with the highly objectionable song."

The Congress Working Committee issued a lengthy statement on the song in October 1937 and ultimately decided to recommend that certain stanzas, which contained allegorical references, may not be used on the national platform. It is further claimed that the two stanzas recommended as the National Song do not contain a word or phrase that will offend anybody.

By excluding certain lines from the "National Song" the Congress High Command has conceded the League's contention that Bande Matram at least does contain objectionable passages. They must, however, realise that the Muslims cannot forget the historical background of the song and the sentiments which led to its composition.

Further, in support of the song it is stated that Bande Matram has been associated with Indian nationalism for more than thirty years and numerous associations of sentiments and sacrifices have gathered round it and that no objection was taken to it, except

on political grounds, by the Government. To our mind the defence exposes the narrow and predominantly communal nature of the nationalism proclaimed by the Congress. The fact that the British Government objected to the song on merely political grounds only goes to prove the League's contention that the religious import of the song is directed against the Muslims alone.

We cannot help wondering that if popular songs are not made to order and cannot be successfully imposed, why, since the acceptance of office by the Congress, Bande Matram is being thrust upon the impressionable boys in schools. We may here point out that before the acceptance of office by the Congress this song was recited at meetings held under the ægis of the Congress and those who attended them were there out of their own free will. As such there was no occasion for objection. But now the position has changed. The Congress now forms the Government in seven provinces of India. Congressmen and their sympathisers have started singing the song at public meetings and other functions where members of different religions have to be present.

Moreover, the various Congress Governments have lifted the ban on the song in Government schools. The reason given was that since the ban was imposed by the Government of the pre-Reform days and was directed against Indian nationalism it had to be lifted. The effect of this order has been, however, quite different. School teachers, keen on winning the favour of the new masters, have taken it upon themselves to make the singing of Bande Matram a permanent feature of the school curriculum. To mention only a few examples, the Muslim students of Patna objected to the singing of the song and went on strike. The school management compelled some of the students to leave the school. The Muslim public of Patna had to open a separate school to save the careers of these boys from being totally ruined. Then in the Central Provinces the Muslim students have the same grievance against

the Municipal schools. In the Normal School at Wardha the Muslim students are not allowed to touch the food in the school mess, are forced to stand with folded hands when Bande Matram is sung and made to live entirely on vegetarian diet. All this only shows a callous disregard of the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims by the Congress governments.

THE TRICOLOUR.

The Muslims believe that the tricolour of the Congress is purely a party flag and nothing more. Every political party, whether in office or in the opposition, has the right to hoist its flag wherever it likes. While on most of the Municipal and District Board buildings the Congress flag has been hoisted without any opposition from the Muslims, whenever any local body, with a Muslim majority, has passed a resolution for the hoisting of the Muslim League flag, the members of the majority community, confident of the Congress Government's support, have put obstacles in the way of the resolution being enforced. It has been claimed by them that their objection to the League flag is based on the fact that it is a communal flag. We should like to know if the hoisting of the so-called national flag on the unwilling minorities is anything but an expression of the narrow communalism of the majority community.

It is argued on behalf of the Congress that the tricolour contains the Muslim green. But without a change of heart, without a settlement of the points in dispute and without unity of purpose between the two communities the inclusion of the Muslim colour in the Congress flag is meaningless. The flag should represent the true feelings and sentiments of the Muslim community if it is to have any significance at all, but unfortunately it does not.

Since the Congress has come into power the hoisting of the tricolour over public buildings has become another source of friction between the two communities. There have been instances where the flag has been hoisted without the sanction of the proper authority. We may, however, point out that a national flag cannot

be forced upon unwilling people any more than a national anthem. Such attempts would only expose the latent communal nature of the "national" policy of the party, which is overwhelmingly Hindu.

EXCLUSION OF MUSLIMS FROM LOCAL BODIES AND DEBT CONCILIATION BOARDS.

The Muslims have found it almost impossible to get into the local bodies or into the Debt Conciliation Boards in the provinces with joint electorate. In Bihar the Muslims had to boycott the elections to the local bodies so long as their grievances were not redressed. In the C. P. and Berar, where the Muslims form a very small minority, they have been excluded from local bodies. It was pointed out to us that the Muslims were better treated by the Independent Party than they are now by the Congress. Before the advent of the Congress Government there used to be at least one Muslim on each Debt Conciliation Board, but now there are several boards with no Muslim representation. We may further add that an overwhelming majority of the Muslims in this province belong to the class of labourers or small cultivators, who are heavily indebted to the rich money-lenders and as such their cases require special attention. We have dealt with this question fully in Part III of this Report.

We may, however, state that even the operation of measures, designed apparently to promote public welfare, irrespective of class or community, is so manipulated as to exclude the minorities, specially the Muslims, from their benefits.

COW PROTECTION.

The question of cow slaughter has been one of the causes of conflict between the Hindus and Muslims of India. With the taking over of the reins of government in the seven provinces by the Congress the question of cow protection has assumed great importance

and propaganda has been carried on with redoubled energy in this connection. There have been numerous instances where Muslims have been intimidated to give up cow sacrifice and the eating of beef. Organised picketing has been done to prevent the sale of cows to Muslims. The dastardly attack on Muslim butchers at the Dadri Fair in the Ballia district, U. P., was only one of the many cases where force has been used. The details of communal outbreaks and their origin are given in a later chapter. Here we are only concerned with the question of cow protection.

While the country was seething with communal troubles people looked to the Haripura Congress to relieve the tension in the country. Unfortunately, however, the speeches of the most eminent Congress leaders on the occasion of the opening of the Cow Exhibition were far from reassuring. Mahatma Gandhi, referring to the importance of cow protection, said :

> "From the historical and economic point of view the cow must be protected. Unfortunately we have not taken cow protection seriously. Due to our carelessness, idleness and ignorance, good breeds of cows are now vanishing. In the olden days the Rajas earned the title of "Gopalas" meaning cow protectors. At present nothing is done to protect cows and consequently they are proving a burden on the economic life. It was not true that cows were costly to maintain." The Mahatma further appealed to all to drink more cow's milk, for if the nation determined to drink cow's milk then cows could be saved. He urged the people to understand the *real significance of cow protection*.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, in requesting the Mahatma to open the Exhibition, said that the idea of cow protection had come from the Mahatma himself. Mahatma Gandhi was the pioneer of two things, the *charkha* and cow protection.

We have referred to these two speeches as they produced a profound impression throughout the country and there were significant reactions to them. The economic plea for cow protection was taken up by Mr. Chitervadis, a Mahasabhaite M.L.A. of the C. P., in the statement of the aims and objects of his Cow Protection Bill, which imposes heavy restrictions regarding slaughter of animals even for social and religious purposes. This is in keeping with the line taken up by the Congress leaders at Haripura. It is also interesting to remember that the *charkha* has so far been considered as a sure means of bringing independence to India. Now that it has been coupled with cow protection, the ideal of independence has only been brought closer with the religious and communal ideal of the Hindu community. This is not surprising when we remember that Mahatma Gandhi's fundamental motives are religious and he has repeatedly declared that his object in life is to bring religion into politics. Moreover, the Mahatma's religion is based on the fundamental Hindu scripture, the Bhagwat Gita.

It is needless for us to point out that the people have been repeatedly told that Swaraj has set in with the acceptance of office by the Congress. And once the people start believing that they are the real rulers of their country, it is but natural for the members of the majority community to cherish the title of Gopalas, specially when they have been exhorted to do so by their greatest leader.

Unfortunately, this false propaganda has only resulted in increased communal tension throughout the country. The population in villages and towns throughout India is now divided between those who drink cow's milk and those who are unwilling to change their diet. We wonder if the Muslims and other minorities are regarded as part of the nation which has been asked to drink cow's milk. Anyway, licences for cow slaughter have been withheld in several municipalities of the Central Provinces. Such attempts at putting a stop to cow slaughter have generally been made at places where the Muslims are numerically weak or disorganised.

COMMUNAL RIOTS.

Cause and Origin.

Communal riots have unfortunately become more frequent in the Congress provinces and they have been largely the natural outcome of the disregard for law and order and disrespect for life and property preached by irresponsible Congressmen. It is a lamentable fact that not only have the occasions when communal tension has resulted in violent outbreaks increased to an extent hitherto unknown, but fresh causes of friction have arisen as a result of the policy adopted by the Congress Governments.

In giving an account of the nature of disputes between the two communities we cannot do better than describe the various viewpoints that have been put forward by the leaders of the two communities and the discussion in the Legislatures of the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa.

In reply to a question the Premier of Bihar said that orders had been issued against the Muslims in sixteen places in connection with Muharram, Bakr-Id and Holi festivals. Some of the speakers, justifying the Government's action, went even so far as to maintain that non-violence was the accepted creed of the Congress Party and that orders under Section 144, Cr. P. C., were issued to avoid violence. Thus the creed of non-violence, to carry the argument to its logical conclusion, which had been so far employed against the British bureaucracy, was now to be employed to deprive the minority community of its civil rights. The Government defended the promulgation of such orders on the grounds of avoiding a breach of peace. It was further stated that the period of these orders was extended to give the parties a chance to obtain an injunction from civil courts. On the other hand, in Zahidabad (Gorakhpur), where the Muslims had already secured a decree from the Civil Court recognising their right of

cow sacrifice, orders under Section 144, Cr. P. C., were issued, according to the U.P. Premier, to avoid a breach of peace.

The Karachi Congress resolution on the fundamental rights of minorities only guarantees them their rights so far as their observance does not lead to breach of peace. Thus it is only natural that this provision should be utilised by the Congress Ministers to deprive the Muslims of their civil rights.

In the United Provinces Legislative Assembly several attempts were made to fix the responsibility for riots on the Muslims. The Minister of Education, Mr. Sampurnanand, is reported to have said that the minority community thought that it could bring the Congress Government to their knees by creating communal disturbances. He, however, admitted that in his own home town, Benares, the riots started with a clash between two parties of Holi processionists in which one Hindu was killed. We fail to understand why with his Benares experience the Minister indulged in such a generalisation. This disorderly behaviour of Holi processionists could, by no stretch of imagination, be connected with the activities of the minority community.

Then the Minister of Justice, Dr. K. N. Katju, maintained that irresponsible statements of members of the Muslim League and a campaign of vilification of the Government in the Urdu Press was responsible for the riots and that the minority community, taking advantage of the Government's solicitude for the freedom of the Press and speech, wanted to bully them. The Minister of Justice should have been better informed, at least of the happenings in his own town, Allahabad. The Magistrate, in delivering judgment in one of the riot cases at Allahabad, observed: "It is the Hindus who set the ball rolling."

We cannot believe that a "campaign of lies" in the Urdu Press could have influenced those people against whom the above remark of the Magistrate was made.

The U. P. Premier, Mr. G. B. Pant, was of the opinion that the objectionable propaganda of the Muslim League and the determination of the Opposition to embarrass the Government was responsible for the riots. It is the duty of the Government to maintain law and order and to protect the lives and property of the citizens. In all democratic countries the Opposition criticises the Government and yet no Government has tried to explain away its failure by accusing the Opposition of "embarrassing the Government."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, referring to the riots, is reported to have said: "Why were there riots this year? It was because the Congress Ministry was in power."

At a meeting of the Unity Board at Allahabad Mr. Badri Prasad, Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha, stated: "These riots were created by some organisation to lower the growing strength of the Congress."

To our mind all these speeches fail to get at the root of the problem by throwing the blame on the Opposition. We believe that the trouble was due to the preaching of the ideals of a party in the name of nationalism and forcing them on everybody.

The Muslims knew that they were powerless and all that they could do was to adopt a policy of self-preservation based on peaceful relations with the majority community. It was the failure of the Congress Governments which largely depended on the support of the Hindu members to take strong measures against Hindu aggressive elements that resulted in the crop of communal disturbances all over the country.

THE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

The question of language and culture has assumed great importance recently due to confused thinking among some of the prominent Congress leaders who refuse to acknowledge the very existence of a separate Muslim culture in India. The word "Culture" has a wide significance and covers the entire activity of

man—intellectual, aesthetic, spiritual, moral, social economic and political: for, the true seat of culture or its mainspring is the mind of man; and as is the mind, so its manifestations which constitute its culture. This definition itself should convince those who deny the existence of a separate Muslim culture. This is, however, not a place to enter into a detailed discussion on Mnslim culture and we will confine ourselves to the practical problem that faces the country.

We may point out that the Urdu language came into existence as the result of an attempt to take a purely Aryan language and turn it into a common language so that both Hindus and Muslims may understand each other. It is not a purely Muslim language as the modern champions of Hindustani would have us believe nor it is spoken or understood in Islamic countries. The Muslims who came to India spoke either Persian or Arabic. There was no reason why they should have adopted an entirely new language if it was not for the purpose of having a common language with the inhabitants of the country. Urdu is thus the *lingua franca* of Indin—the great binder of different peoples.

Urdu was built up by the contributions of both Hindus and Muslims. The former have done as much to make it the common language of the country as the latter. If we find, Khusrau, Ghalib, Mir and Akbar Allahabadi among the Muslim giants of Urdu literature, we have also Pandit Ratan Nath *Sarshar* and Pandit Daya Shanker *Naseem* from amongst the Hindus. Even among the living men there is no one who is more keen on preserving the Urdu language than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a great scholar of Urdu.

It is thus clear that Muslims far from being opposed to the evolution of a common language for the country were in fact the first to realise its necessity and have done their best to evolve one. Unfortunately, however, the communal tension, which made its first appearance in the country in the beginning of this century, also affected the question of language, and Urdu, which had

so far been accepted as the *lingua franca* of the country, was dubbed as the language of the Muslims alone.

We may further point out that the Muslims, having decided to have Urdu as their mother tongue, took to the language in right earnest and their entire literature, including all branches of knowledge, has been built up in this language. As such they attach great importance to the presevation of Urdu as written in the Persian script and would stoutly resist all attempts to destroy it.

The question of language has drawn the attention of the Congress leaders a great deal and various pronouncements have been made by them. The interpretations given to the term Hindustani by these leaders not only vary a great deal but amply show that there is no unity of thought even among those who direct the policy of the Congress.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his letter to the Congress Premiers declared that so far as the problem of language and script was concerned, a controversy arose in the United Provinces and Bihar as far back as 1902. As a consequence new meanings were attached to words which were previously used for the same language. The term Urdu was said to refer to that form of the Hindustani language which was written in the Persian script and the term Hindi was applied to the same language written in the Deva Nagri script. The Indian National Congress, the Maulana further pointed out, definitely ended the controversy thirteen years ago under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress decided that for the national inter-provincial language the same form of Hindustani should be used as had been in use since the 17th century. Thus there was no place for any doubt so far as the fundamental question of common language was concerned. The Congress Ministries in the various provinces, according to the Maulana, were acting up to the principle laid down by the Congress. He, however, admitted that in certain provinces people could

not discriminate between the new connotations of Hindi and Hindustani and whenever they used the word Hindustani only they unintentionally came nearer the zone of controversy.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dealing with the same question, stated that the Congress guaranteed the language and culture of the minorities in India. He wanted to encourage all the great provincial languages of the country and at the same time wanted to make Hindustani, as written both in Deva Nagri and Persian scripts, the national language. Both scripts were to be officially recognised and the choice of their use was to be left to the people. Pandit Jawaharlal also gave an assurance that this policy was being followed by the various Congress Ministries.

Mahatma Gandhi first endorsed the views of the U. P. Minister of Education, Mr. Sampurnanand, that for technical and scientific terms increasing use of the Sanskrit language should be made to supplement Hindustani. He followed it up by an article in the *Harijan* in which he stated : "So far as the Congress is concerned, Hindustani is its recognised official language designed as an all-India language for inter-provincial contact. *It is not to supplant but to supplement provincial languages* . . . . For the purpose of crystallising Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu may be regarded as feeders. A Congressman must, therefore, wish well to both and keep in touch with both forms as far as he can. This Hindustani will have many synonyms to supply the varied requirements of a growing nation rich in provincial languages. Hindustani spoken to a Bengali or to Southern audiences will naturally have a large stock of words of Sanskrit origin. The same speech delivered in the Punjab will have a large admixture of words of Arabic and Persian origin. Similar will be the case with audiences composed predominantly of Muslims, who cannot understand many words of Sanskrit origin."

We think that these assurances do not go far and instead of allaying the fears of the Muslims they have

only aggravated them. The real issue has been lost sight of. The controversy referred to by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has resulted in the accumulation of a vast literature in both Hindi and Urdu in which increasing use of Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian words has been made by the writers of Hindi and Urdu respectively. Thus the Maulana's definition has no application to the language as written and spoken to-day. In fact, Hindustani is actually a non-existent language. It only exists in the minds of the Congress leaders. The living languages are Urdu and Hindi. The mere fact that a book, which is full of Sanskrit words, is published in Persian script does not make it any more intelligible to Muslims than if it were published in Deva Nagi script.

We are surprised at the supporters of Sanskrit advocating the use of a dead language, as no doubt Sanskrit is, for supplying technical and scientific terms to the future common language of the country. Mahtama Gandhi seems to disagree with the definition of Hindustani provided by Maulana Azad, who thinks that the difference between Urdu and Hindi is only that of script and the two are really one. Further, if the question of script was not taken into account both languages would become Hindustani. The Mahatma, on the other hand, points out that Urdu and Hindi should be regarded as feeders for Hindustani, which is to supplement and not to supplant the provincial languages. Moreover, we doubt if his instructions about the use of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian words according to the varying circumstances would be conducive to the evolution of a *lingua franca*. We think that such a language, if it is evolved at all, would fail to serve the very purpose for which it is meant. It will fail to bring the various people of India together by the ties of a common language.

Another subject allied with the question of common language, is the question of classical literature. The speech of the Minister of Education. Bihar, throws ample light on the subject. Oppening the proceedings

of the Text Book Committee, he declared that the soul of India was awakened once again and was crying for self-expression, self-realisation and self-fulfilment. He added that she would achieve none of these until she found the mould and channel, the medium and setting, the tradition and background in which Kabir, Rahman, Nanak and Tulsidas thought and taught and sang and prayed. We need hardly point out how narrow and one-sided a view of Indian cultural background has been taken by the Minister of Education. He forgets the very existence of Khusrau, Ghalib and Mir and the part played by them in moulding the culture of the country. We are further at a loss to understand how the temporal character of education is to be maintained with the inclusion of prayers. The foregoing remarks of the Minister give us an indication of what the cultural background is going to be and the wide gulf that separates the innocent looking resolutions passed by the Congress and the actual practice enunciated by no less a person than a responsible Minister of Education in a Congress Government.

The contributions of writers and thinkers of all communities should build up the national language and culture of the country. But if an attempt is made to introduce text-books and use officially a language which represents only the ideas, thoughts and sentiments of a particular community, the mere use of the Persian script will not change the communal nature of the language.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing on the tyranny of the English language in the *Harijan*, said: "The medium of a foreign language through which higher education has been imparted has caused incalculable intellectual and moral injury to the nation. The tyranny of English has been so great that even Sanskrit and Persian have to be learnt through English. I know what time I took to learn arithmetic, geometry, etc. I should have learnt them easily in one year if I had not to learn them through English but Gujrati and my grasp of the subjects would have been easier and

clearer. I would have made use of such knowledge in my home. This English medium created an unpassable barrier between me and the members of my family who had not gone to an English school. I was fast becoming a stranger to my own home."

We may point out that Muslim boys and girls will suffer from all these disabilities, which have been so vividly described by Mahatma Gandhi, if the present attempts of Congress Ministers to impart education to them in the vernaculars of the various provinces are continued. An overwhelming majority of Muslims of India speak and read Urdu and that is their mother tongue. The Muslims of these minority provinces further point out that if their children are forced to receive education through the medium of a vernacular which is not their mother tongue, not only cultural degeneration will set in among them but they will also be placed at a disadvantage in competition with the boys of other communities, who are fortunate enough to receive their education in their own mother tongue.

The Muslims in Orissa and Maharatti-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berar look with alarm at the proposal of introducing Oriya and Maharatti as mediums of instruction without including Urdu as one of the media. They point out that a Muslim will have to learn Oriya, Maharatti or any other vernacular, as the case may be, in addition to English and Urdu, his own mother tongue. Complaints were also made to us of the unwillingness of Government and local bodies to open Urdu schools where the number of Muslim boys of school-going age justified the existence of such schools. In Malabar of the 73 schools declared uneconomic by the Standing Committee of the District Board and recommended for abolition, 58 are Moplah Muslim Schools. Moreover, most of the special facilities provided to the Moplahs by the previous government to encourage education among them have been withdrawn by the Congress Government. Then districts like Saugor and Mandla in C.P. with a substantial Muslim population have no Urdu

school. In Hinganghat Middle School all teaching is done in Maharatti both in primary and upper classes. Applications written in Urdu are rejected by the municipal boards in the Central Provinces and Berar. Then the text books prescribed at present for study deal exclusively with the glories of Hindu divinities and Hindu heroes and saints; and contain no reference to the cultural or social achievements of the Muslims or to any historic names held in veneration by them. The grievance of the Muslims is not that these text books deal with Hindu heroes or Hindu great men, but that they do not speak of the Muslims at all. This is not a way to evolve a single nationality build up a common culture.

Then in Bihar, although the use of Urdu script is allowed, the courts usually insist on presentation of a copy written in the Hindi script. In the Legislative Assembly of C.P. and Berar the speeches of members who speak in Urdu are reported either in Hindi script or only a summary of their speeches is reported in English.

The foregoing are some of the examples of the methods employed to suppress Urdu in provinces where the Congress is in power.

It may not be out of place here to state briefly certain principles which have been applied to the solution of the language problem in Switzerland. Out of a total population of about three millions there are about 7,00,000 French, about 2,00,000 Italians and the rest Germans. There are 22 cantons of which only three are fully French-speaking, three-half French and half German-speaking and one is Italian-speaking and 15 are German-speaking cantons. The Italians do not form more than six per cent. of the total population, yet the Italian-speaking minority has got the same facilities for receiving education, and shares all the advantages with the rest of the population. In Locarno separate arrangements are made for teaching French and German in primary schools. In the canton of Fribourg there are two sets of schools to impart education, one in German and the other in French.

We may further point out the rights the minority enjoyed in Czechoslavakia before the occupation of the Sudetanland by Germany and in spite of that they complained of the lack of an autonomous German section in the Ministry of Education. The complete complaint, which they formulated regarding the inadequate building and subsidy in the German University and the erection of the so-called minority schools, and the closing down of German primary and technical schools between 1931 and 1935, forms an interesting reading.

In the field of education the Sudetan Germans possessed their own university, two technical high schools, and academy of music, 90 secondary schools (55 gymnasia, 22 "Realshuler and 13 girls' schools), 14 training colleges, 629 commercial and agricultural schools, 430 higher and 3,363 lower primary schools, and 501 kindergartens.

When a small country like Switzerland can afford to impart education in three languages, surely more than one language can be taught in an Indian province. In Switzerland while arrangements are made to impart education in the mother tongue of the children, the Muslims in India are deprived of this benefit because of the unwillingness of Governments and local bodies to make adequate arrangements. The demands of the Muslims are treated light-heartedly and they are accused of communalism. All this is happening in spite of the constant reiteration of the Karachi minorities resolution by responsible Congress leaders. In view of these facts we are constrained to remark that the Congress High Command is not able to enforce its declared policy in the Congress-governed provinces, at least so far as the welfare of the Muslims is concerned.

PART III

DETAILS OF MUSLIMS' GRIEVANCES,

....

BIHAR.

In Bihar the deplorable effects of the Congress to force its politics on the younger generation together with its distinctly communal tendencies have given the greatest set-back to the national cause, which it professes to espouse, by driving the Hindu and Muslim students into the opposing camps. The attempts to hoist the Congress flag on all institutions and to introduce the *Bande Matram* song has had disastrous results on the relations between the students of the two communities, who had so far lived in harmonious co-operation.

It may be argued that the Government orders were meant simply to lift the ban on the song and the hoisting of the Congress flag but the Government cannot be unaware of the fact that, in spite of the optional nature of its circular, teachers and those responsible for the management of schools have been encouraged to ignore the feelings of the Muslims and they lose no opportunity of offending Muslim sentiments.

In a letter sent by the Muslim students to the Prime Minister the following incidents were enumerated:

The Congress flag was hoisted and *Bande Matram* sung on the formation of the Congress Ministry.

Both the hoisting of the flag and the singing of the *Bande Matram* were repeated on Independence Day and the Muslim students were persuaded to take part in the functions on the false promise that neither of these things would take place.

This was again repeated on the Prize Distribution Day.

As to how the atmosphere in the educational institutions has been vitiated by over-zealous schoolmasters will be apparent from a statement of Syed Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, a former Minister.

"Muslim students sincerely and whole-heartedly intended to participate in the meeting convened to inaugurate the scheme for mass literacy. They joined the procession on the assurance by some teachers and headmasters that no flag of political significance would be carried, no political slogan raised and no political song would be sung on this occasion, which was purely of an educational character and was of common interest to all classes of people, irrespective of religion or political creed.

This assurance, however, came to be broken no sooner than it was given, as some Hindu students began to unfurl Congress flags and shout *Bande Matram*, which caused the Muslim students to say *Allah-o-Akbar*. By the time the procession arrived at the Science College excitement became intense and violence broke out.

"At least two Muslim students received injuries with a sharp cutting weapon. I myself saw when I arrived on the balcony where some leading ladies and gentlemen were seated, a Muslim lad of about fourteen years of age standing near Dr. Syed Mahmud with blood oozing from his neck. The boy stated that he had been hit with a *kirpan* by a Sikh. His brother, Mannan, was protesting in a state of great excitement against the assault upon Muslim students. Neither of them came to the meeting armed with any weapon nor did they intend to cause any disturbance."

The Muslim students of T. K. Ghosh's Academy, Patna, went on strike following the expulsion of six students in connection with the agitation regarding the song *Bande Matram*. The unfortunate young men who were expelled found it impossible to get admission into any other institution. The Muslims of Patna have been forced to open a separate school.

The questions of *Bande Matram* and the hoisting of the Congress flag in schools have become very serious. There has been some trouble over this issue in the Ram Mohan Seminary at Bankipore and other schools in the province. There was also some trouble on the occasion of the launching of the campaign for the removal of illiteracy over *Bande Matram* between Muslim and Hindu students. This has already been described in the statement of Syed Abdul Aziz. As long as a solution of the question is not reached it will be a perpetual source of friction between the two communities.

LOCAL BODIES.

Under the system of joint electorate the type of Muslims that are returned to the local bodies do not truly represent Muslim interests and do not enjoy the confidence of their community. A resolution was passed by the Provincial Muslim League of Bihar urging the boycott of elections to the local bodies. That the Muslims are determined to make the resolution effective is proved by the success of the boycott of Municipal elections at Motihari, Darbhanga, Samastipur, Katihar and other places.

There is a good deal of agitation against joint electorate in the local bodies as the Muslims had no chance of being returned unless they had the support of the Congress, which they could not expect unless they joined the Congress and the Muslims at present are not prepared to do so. The Government have not taken any notice of the most legitimate demands of the Muslims with the result that the Muslims have boycotted the Municipal elections. They have further decided to boycott the elections of the District Boards.

COW PROTECTION.

Various methods are employed to stop the slaughter of cows. We have received information that butchers, while returning with cattle from market places, have been assaulted. For instance, a few butchers were

bringing cattle from village Kali, Sub-Division Jehanabad. They were attacked by Hindus at village Durmi in the Sadar Sub-Division, District Patna, and one of them was severely wounded with a spear and was admitted into hospital.

In some of the Municipal towns licences for selling beef in particular quarters, where they used to sell it before, have been cancelled. In some places licences are not at all granted to butchers to carry on their trade. For instance, at Hajipur, a sub-division in the District of Muzaffarpur, such licences have of late been withheld.

The Muslims have repeatedly complained that orders under section 144 Cr.P.C. have been promulgated with a view to deprive them of their civil rights and religious liberties. In a statement issued by the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League it has been shown how the Muslims suffer under a sense of injustice in that province. The Working Committee reviews some of the actions and the policy of the Local Government and their officials in respect of certain rights of the Muslims in Bihar. The Committee feels that the present Government has far surpassed the foreign bureaucratic rule in attempting to deprive the Muslims of their most important religious and civil rights. It is a national tragedy, says the Committee, that the Muslims feel so unsafe under provincial autonomy. It has been held by various courts, including the Privy Council, that the Muslims have a legal and religious right to sacrifice cows. Such being the legal aspect of this right, the treatment meted out to the Muslims of Manjhaul, District Bhagalpur, stands out as a conspicuous example of Congress high-handedness. Manjhaul consists cf 300 to 400 Muslim houses only. The inhabitants of the village assert that from time immemorial they have performed cow sacrifice in the village on Bakr-Id days and showed the representatives of the Muslim League receipts of sales of cow hides tallying with the Bakr-Id festivals of previous years. The Hindus of the surrounding villages reported to the

Sub-divisional Officer, Madhipur, that no cow sacrifice ever took place in the said village, on which the Officer issued a notice against twelve persons under section 144 Cr. P.C. prohibiting them from sacrificing cows. The Muslims sent telegrams of protest to the Bihar Premier and the District Magistrate, on which the Hindus of the neighbouring villages, numbering from 10,000 to 15,000, surrounded the village armed with deadly weapons. Getting wind of this the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police along with a *posse* of armed constables reached the spot and on their assurance that they would allow no cow sacrifice the Hindus dispersed. On their way back they set fire to sugarcane fields and destroyed wheat crops belonging to the Muslims.

In these circumstances Muslims would have to decide soon whether they should migrate from this province or face annihilation if the present state of constant conflict with a section of Hindus and perpetual anxiety and insecurity, suffering and humiliation continue. The question also formed the subject matter of an adjournment motion in the Bihar Legislative Assembly.

The mover, Mr. Ali Manzar, pointed out that the one great source of all communal trouble had been the unsettled, indefinite, vague and vascillating policy of the Congress Government in matters of cow slaughter and music before mosques. He maintained that the Muslims had the right to slaughter cows irrespective of customs, provided it was done with reasonable precaution. Another Muslim speaker complained that the order under section 144 Cr.P.C. was promulgated against Muslims only. The policy adopted and action taken by the Bihar Government in extending the period of notice under section 144 Cr.P.C. was unprecedented in the whole country as the special power to extend the period to six months under special Government notification has never been adopted by any Government in the past.

Kunwar Kalika Prasad Sinha narrating the history of the case said that "it was admitted that the village

of Amin had the customary right of cow slaughter. The dispute was whether the Muslims had the right of cow slaughter on Bakr-Id days alone or could they slaughter on other days also."

Another speaker stressed the fact that non-violence was a fundamental principle of the Congress and promulgation of section 144 Cr.P.C. to avoid violence was thoroughly justified.

The promulgation of the order under section 144 Cr.P.C. and the grounds given by the Government for its extension that the Muslims may have an opportunity of getting their rights declared by a civil court amply show that the Congress Governments have no definite policy. The residents of Zahidabad, Gorakhpur, U. P., had obtained a declaratory decree from the civil court in their favour but the district authorities stopped the cow sacrifice on the Bakr-Id day by an order under section 144 Cr.P.C. on the ground that such sacrifice would lead to a breach of peace. In Bihar the Congress Government issued similar orders on the pretext of giving the Muslims a chance to secure a civil court decree but the idea behind both orders was to prevent Muslims from sacrificing cows.

Further, the principle of non-violence, which proved so successful a weapon in fighting the British bureaucracy, was now to be used for depriving the minority of their just rights. When cow sacrifice takes place inside houses with due precaution and without any advertisement the establishment of a customary right by producing impartial witnesses becomes an impossibility. We think that the chance of breaches of peace will, on the contrary, increase by such a policy. The object of those who want to put a stop to cow sacrifice would be achieved by creating such circumstances which are likely to lead to a breach of peace even in places where Muslims and Hindus have hitherto lived peacefully. Generally, when it is known that a certain community is taking the law in its own hands, the Government should promulgate orders under section 144 Cr. P. C. to stop such high-handedness and not to stop the

performance of the accepted religious duty of the aggrieved community.

It may be further observed that when in this particular case it was admitted that the Muslims had a right of cow sacrifice on one particular day and it did not hurt anybody's religious susceptibilities on that particular day, how could it do on other days. If the residents of one village can perform their civil rights at a particular spot and without exception being taken to it what justification can there be if others come and join them.

These facts lead us to think that the orders issued under sections 144 Cr. P. C. were not likely to establish friendly relations between the two communities or inspire confidence in the Government.

SUPPRESSION OF LANGUAGE.

Replying to a question in the Bihar Legislative Assembly regarding the use of script in all courts, the Premier said that the procedure in the civil and criminal courts was governed by the Government notification dated June 1, 1937, on the subject of court language, but not in the revenue courts. Government had permitted Urdu script in revenue courts but the manner in which it was to be enforced was under examination.

Although Urdu is allowed in courts as one of the optional languages, it is always discouraged by the presiding officers and the clerks. If documents, statements and petitions are filed in Urdu, Hindi copies of the same are generally required by the courts. The officials have got to pass a departmental examination in Hindi but no such departmental examination is held in Urdu.

GENERAL POLICY OF GOVERNMENT.

As regards the general policy of the Bihar Congress Government we cannot do better than reproduce relevant portions of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Bihar Muslim League which throws ample light on the subject. The following are the extracts from the resolution:

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League has reviewed some of the actions and policies of the Local Government and their professions in respect of the rights and interests of Muslims in Bihar and feels that the present Government have far surpassed the foreign bureaucratic rule in attempting to rob the Muslims of some of their most important religious and civic rights and are undermining their position in the false name of law and order which has become a most dangerous shibboleth of the ruling party and a permanent pretext to perpetrate acts of gross injustice and tyranny upon the weak.

"The policy of the British in India was one of neutrality in religious matters of the subjects and the former Government did fulfil this policy in a large measure, though they failed in many cases to protect the Muslims in exercising their religious and civic rights and in some cases did great wrongs to them in the name of peace by siding with aggressive and bigoted people who happened to be in the majority. This tendency to scatter the rights of the minority to the winds has of late become greatly augmented."

"A National Tragedy":

It is a national tragedy that at no time in modern age certain minorities, particularly the Muslims, have felt so unsafe and so aggrieved as they do now under Provincial Autonomy by the unwise policy and unjust action of the present Government which has surrendered to militant mobs, composed mostly of ignorant, biased and intolerant people and assembled to prevent Muslims on various occasions from performing certain religious acts and exercising their civic rights.

Right of Cow Slaughter :

Amongst the rights so ignored and encroached upon is the right of the Muslims to sacrifice cows during the Bakr-Id festival and eat beef on any day or occasion they like. The Government and their officials have by executive orders recently prevented Muslims at a large

lawlessness continued and even the police were able to restore order with some difficulty.

This incident, serious though it was, failed to attract the immediate attention either of the Government or the Congress. Atrocities bordering on Nazi terrorism had been perpetrated on a microscopic minority in a village and the Congress remained unmoved. Compare this with the prompt notice taken both by the Congress and the Government of a minor quarrel between a local zemindar and a Congress worker about a month before this riot in an adjoining village. Protest meetings were held and a huge demonstration was organised by local Congress workers. Even the Government sent one of their Parliamentary Secretaries post-haste to make inquiries on the spot.

Since the report was written the case has been decided. The Magistrate was disinclined to believe the story of the mouth of a living pig being inserted into the mouth of Muslims.

Bhagalpur :

As regards the Bhagalpur riots, Mr. M. A. Mannan, General Secretary of the Bhagalpur District Muslim League, wrote a lengthy letter in the *Advance*, Calcutta, and dealt in detail with the situation in this district. We reproduce a paragraph from his letter here :

"It has now been well established beyond any doubt by statements issued from time to time by Molvi Abdul Hameed Rasumi (Congress), Assistant Secretary of the Muslim Mass Contact Sub-Committee, Bhagalpur, Mr. Qasim Hussain, B.L., Congress Municipal Commissioner and zemindar, Mr. Jameel Ahmad Khan, B.L., Pleader and Congress Municipal Commissioner, Maulana Minnatullah Sahib, an Independent Party M.L.A., and no less a person than Maúlana Ahmad Saeed Khan, a great supporter of the Congress and President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind that the Hindu Mahasabhaites and Congressmen of Bhagalpur entered into an unholy alliance with each other and were thus making preparations and fomenting agitation against Muslims

of Muslims were injured and many had spear wounds. Pools of blood were found inside the mosque and its outer verandah by Mr. Abdul Ghani when he visited the mosque which, too, was badly damaged by the rioters. A shop, which was started to meet the needs of the Muslims who had been boycotted by the Hindu shop-keepers of the village, was also looted and destroyed altogether.

It is regrettable that no help was rendered to these sufferers either by the Congress workers or by the Seva Samiti volunteers. Though responsible Congress workers were seen returning from the village Lohganjar, the headquarters of the rioters, by Mr. Abdul Ghani, the next day after the occurrence, they did not bother to have a look at their Muslim brothers whom they so often ask to join the Congress on economic issue.

It is indeed shocking to describe in words the brutalities tyrannies and oppression perpetrated upon the poor Muslims of this village. All utensils, clothes, agricultural implements, animals, grain and other necessities of life were either burnt and destroyed or taken away by the rioters. The women and children took shelter in the neighbouring sugarcane fields. The Muslims had no grain left in their houses and no clothes to protect them from the cold. Altogether 19 Muslims were injured while two Hindus received minor injuries. Most of the Muslims had to be removed to the Siwan Hospital and were laid up there for weeks.

When we visited the locality the case was pending in court and so we refrain from giving our findings.

Darbhanga :

Mr. Muslehuddin, Secretary of the District Muslim League, Lahiria Sarai, personally investigated into the following incidents and submitted to us the following report:—

At Maghwan, police station Benipatti, Madhubani, notices were served under section 144 Cr. P. C.

prohibiting the Muslims from performing cow sacrifice on the occasion of Bakr-Id, which was being performed in the village since time immemorial. Those on whom the notices were served performed no sacrifice but others did. Cases against the latter are pending. As a protest against the statement of the Bihar Premier in the Legislative Assembly, during the pendency of the cases, that the Muslims of Maghwan sacrificed cows against custom, the accused persons have refused to defend themselves on the ground that the Premier's statement on the *sub judice* cases had entirely prejudiced their defence.

Madhupur :

The Hindus of Madhupur boycotted the Muslims three months after the Bakr-Id to get an assurance from the Muslims that they would not perform any cow sacrifice in future. Arrangements were made by the Muslim League to help the Muslims. A mud bazaar was built by the League members of Ratwara and Maniarpur, and several respectable League members who had never before done any manual work, lent a hand in the building of the bazaar for Muslim shop-keepers.

A Hindu teacher removed the Muslim League flag from the school while allowed the Congress flag to remain there.

Siswar :

The Hindus prohibited the Muslims from calling the *Azan*. A case was filed in the court. Then the Congressmen built two paper effigies, one representing a Hindu and the other a Muslim with a long beard and a Turkish cap. A person started striking the beard with a stick saying, "Pray to the Congress Pandit for relief otherwise you will be nowhere." The police took immediate steps and an ugly situation was averted.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR.

Since the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy Muslims in no other province have suffered so much as in the Central Provinces and Berar, where they form a very small minority and are poor and educationally backward.

The province is almost entirely agricultural but the number of Muslim agriculturists is very small. The Muslims are mostly workers in mills or Biri manufacturers.

In fourteen districts of the province Hindi is the commonly spoken language, while in the Berars and the greater part of the five districts which constitute the revenue division of Nagpur, Marathi is the predominant language. Muslims all over the province speak Urdu. Before Berar was transferred to British rule the court language of this province was Urdu.

BANDE MATRAM.

Muslims from all parts of the province complain that the song *Bande Matram* is forced upon Muslim boys in Government schools and in those managed by Municipalities and other Local Bodies. Khan Saheb Abdul Rahman Khan, M.L.A., visited the Vidya Mandir Training College and found that Muslim boys were compelled to stand with folded hands when this song was sung.

The Premier has issued instructions that all officials should stand when *Bande Matram* is sung.

Khan Saheb Abdur Rahman Khan states in the *Star*, dated July 10, 1938, that at the time of the presentation of a civic address to Mr. S. C. Bose at Nagpur when the song *Bande Matram* was being sung the Congress Premier himself asked the audience to stand up. He was himself subjected to ridicule and abuses by the Congress organ *Samaj Sevak*, edited by the Secretary of the District Congress Committee, on having refused to stand at the time of the recital of *Bande*

Matram at a meeting addressed by Mr. Gupta, a Congress Minister.

Moulvi Abdul Haq, in a letter to Mahatma Gandhi, published in the *New Times*, dated September 20, 1938, says: "The Indian National Congress makes so much of its promise to safeguard the language and cultural interests of the minorities. That being so, you will feel shocked to know what a representative of my Anjuman had to witness at the village school of Pandharna in the district of Chhindwara. Before the day's work was begun in that school, the Muslim boys had to offer, with folded hands, along with the Hindu boys, *parasthana* before the image of the goddess Saraswati. It was found that the Muslim boys were not to wish each other in their usual Islamic way, but to say *Namaste* and *Ramji-ki-Jai*. I ask you is this safeguarding the interests of our language and culture?"

LOCAL BODIES.

In the Central Provinces and Berar there are 83 Local Boards which are elected on the system of joint electorate without any reservation of seats. It is almost impossible for the Muslims to get themselves elected under the present system. Previous Governments used to redress communal inequalities by means of nominations. But since the Congress has assumed the reins of Government, even this method does not help the Muslims, for nominations are made for party purposes and the interest of Muslims are ignored. The Muslims are thus much worse off than they were under the previous Government.

DEBT CONCILIATION BOARDS.

The Government appoints practically for each Tahsil of the province a Debt Conciliation Board consisting of all non-official representatives of debtors and creditors. The only exception is the Chairman who is usually a Government servant. Prior to the assumption of office by the Congress there was not a single Board without at least one Muslim on it. But now under the Congress regime there are many such

Boards without any Muslim representation. It may be added that the Muslims in this province are generally very poor and are largely in debt. The Muslim members on these Boards represented the interests of not only his community but also of debtors in general. The creditors are usually Marwaris and Brahmans who usually carry influence with the Congress.

It was further represented to us that friends and relations of the Ministers were appointed members of these Boards, while Muslims and Harijans were excluded.

COW PROTECTION.

A notice was served by the Municipality of Jubbulpore imposing extra taxes and other restrictions on cattle dealers. A Bill has been moved in the C. P. Legislative Assembly to amend the C. P. Slaughter of Animals Act. The Muslims complain that if the Amendment Bill is passed it will make impossible not only animal slaughter for commercial purposes but also for social and religious purposes. Under the cover of economic and sanitary grounds and in the name of protection of animals attempts are being made to put a stop to the slaughter of animals by means of legislation and municipal regulations.

Reports of organised efforts in the cattle markets preventing the sale of cattle to Muslims were also made to us. Khan Saheb Abdur Rahman Khan has pointed out in the *Star* of July 10, 1938: "The majority of local bodies have put heavy restrictions and have levied prohibitive fees on the slaughter of animals, the most objectionable of them being those which were adopted in the regime of the Hon'ble Mr. D. P. Misra (now a Congress Minister) as Chairman of Jubbulpore Municipality. The bye-laws prepared by Mr. Misra were kept in abeyance on the interference of the C. P. Government and that of the Government of India but they were confirmed and brought into force on the very day on which the Congress Government accepted office and Mr. D. P. Misra assumed the charge of the Local Self-Government portfolio.

Mr. M. G. Chitnavis is the President of the C. P. Hindu Sabha and Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. He brought a Bill in the Provincial Assembly to prohibit cow and cattle slaughter throughout the province. This is how the Bill was introduced. On December 10, 1937, the Speaker at 1-15 p. m. asked whether there was going to be any motion. Mr. Chitnavis was absent. He attended the Assembly at 4 p. m. His motion for circulation was allowed even without asking for an explanation from him or inviting objections from the House.

SUPPRESSION OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

The Muslims generally complain of want of Urdu schools even in districts as Saugor and Mandla where the number of Muslims is enough to justify the opening of such schools. In high schools the medium of instruction in Hindi or Marathi. It is reported that some Municipal Boards abolished Urdu classes, while one refused grant to a secondary Urdu school. The Anjuman Islamia Press at Jubbulpore was supported by the old Government. An arrangement was made by which Government printing work was given to that press and the profits were utilised for the maintenance of the Anjuman Islamia High School. The Congress Government is now contemplating to change this arrangement without providing funds for the school.

No application in Urdu is entertained by Municipal Committees. Complaints are also made of the want of supervision in Urdu Primary schools.

Speeches delivered in Urdu in the Assembly are reported in Hindi or short summary of them is given in English. When the Speaker was approached and the questions were asked in the Assembly both the Speaker and the Premier expressed their inability to grant request for speeches being reported in Urdu.

The whole of the Betul district has been converted into a compulsory education area. The Government has provided for expenditure with the express condition

that medium of instruction will be only Hindi. Thus the whole population of a district is being systematically converted into a Hindi-speaking population.

The following is a quotation from the letter of the Speaker of the C. P. and Berar Assembly to K. S. Abdul Rahman:—

"As to the point of Urdu being recognized as one of the vernaculars of the Assembly, the question involved is probably a matter for Government. As it must have Government recognition as a language of the province... The use of the script, of course, presents a difficulty which we all know."

The Government admits that there is not a single Urdu school throughout the rural area of Saugor district, while there are only five Urdu schools in urban area. Five schools situated in a city cannot satisfy the education of the whole district. This is another district where the Muslims are converted into Hindi-speaking population at the cost of their language and culture.

We reproduce here a circular letter from the Chairman, Local Board, Chandwar, which is one of the glaring examples of the methods adopted by the local bodies under the Congress regime to systematically force Hindu culture and religion on Muslims in minority provinces. The fact, that the Chairman of a Local Board asked the Headmaster of Urdu schools (where Muslims are in overwhelming majorities) to have the worship of an image of Mahatma Gandhi as part of the birthday celebrations, show how callous the Congress is of the religious sentiments of the Muslims whose religious rights are supposed to be safe in the Karachi Congress resolution on minority rights.

سرکلر:—

جاوک نمبر $\frac{\text{۴۴۶}}{\text{۲۴ / ستمبر سنہ ۱۹۳۸ء}}$

منجانب عالی جناب چیرمین صاحب—

لوکل بورڈ چاندور -

صدرمدرس اردو اسکول..............................کوآگاہ

کیا جاتا ہے کہ تاریخ ۲/ ستمبر صداقت اور عدم تشدد (ستیہ اور اہنسا) کا تمام عالم کو پیغام دینے والی عظیم المرتبت ہستی مہاتما گاندھی کا یوم پیدائش ہے - لہذا اس روز تمام مدارس میں مہاتما گاندھی کے یوم پیدائش کی تقریب منائی جائے-

اس روز صبح ۸ بجے سے ۹ بجے تک تمام اراکین اسکول کمیٹی کو - نیز بستی کے دیگر معززین کو مدعو کیا جائے - اور مہاتما گاندھی کی تصویر کی پوجا کی جائے - اور ان کے بلند نظریوں کے متعلق حاضرین کو نیک ہدایت دیجائے- اور اس کے بعد جلسہ برخاست کیا جائے اور مہاتما گاندھی کا یوم پیدائش منائے جانے کی اطلاع بواپسی ڈاک ہم کو کی جائے

شرح دستخط
کھنڈے راؤ پاندورنگ دیشمکھ
چیرمین لوکل بورڈ چاندور

مورخہ $\frac{۹}{۳۸}$ ۲۴

CIRCULAR.

JAWAK No. 446.
Dated 24th September, 1938.

From,

The Chairman, Local Board,
Chandwar.

The Headmaster of the Urdu School .... is informed that September 2 is the birthday of that great personality Mahatma Gandhi, who has given the message of truth and non-violence (*Satya* and *Ahimsa*) to the world. Therefore, celebrations in honour of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday should be held in all schools.

On that day from 8 to 9 in the morning all members of the School Managing Committee as also all other gentry of the village should be invited to the school. The picture of Mahatma Gandhi should be worshipped and his high ideals should be explained to the audience.

After this the meeting should be dispersed and I should be informed, by return post, of the celebrations in connection with Mahatma Gandhi's birthday.

(Sd.) KHANDEY RAO PANDO RANG DESHMUKH,
Chairman, Local Board, Chandwar.

Viddia Mandir Scheme:

The word Mandir in common parlance means a place of idol worship. As such the very name goes against the grain of Islamic tenets and becomes repulsive to a Muslim. Knowing all this full well, it is surprising how the great champions of Indian nationalism, the Congress Ministers, could give such a communal and anti-Islamic name to a scheme of education which is meant for the children of all communities. According to the scheme:

> "Every village or group of villages within a radius of a mile having no schools and where about

> 40 boys and girls of school-going age are available shall have a Viddia Mandir . . . In all Viddia Mandirs, education shall be through the medium of the mother-tongue. We shall have, therefore, Marathi Viddia Mandirs, Hindi Viddia Mandirs and Urdu Viddia Mandirs, according to the needs and circumstances of the residents of each place where Viddia Mandirs are founded."

In theory the scheme does not neglect Urdu but in actual practice Urdu has been entirely extinguished. According to the scheme, the schools will be founded within a radius of one mile if 40 boys and girls of school-going age are available and the schools will be according to the needs and circumstances of the residents of each place.

In a province like Central Provinces, where the Muslims are only four per cent. of the total population, will it be possible to have Urdu Viddia Mandirs under the scheme ?

It is stated on behalf of the scheme :

> "The name is attractive in more ways than one. To 99 per cent. of the population in villages, it will be a source of inspiration, and it is hoped that it will appeal to their generous and charitable minds."

Considering the proportion of the Muslim population in the rural areas it is clear from the above quotation that the scheme is meant for the benefit of the majority community only and the appeal to the generous and charitable minds of the 99 per cent. of the total population in village is purely of a communal nature.

The scheme has already been elaborately criticised and commented upon by eminent educationists like Maulana Abdul Haque and others so there is no need for us to say anything further.

COMMUNAL TENDENCIES OF THE CONGRESS REGIME.

Several instances were given to us to show the communal tendency of responsible Congressmen. It was pointed out that one of the Ministers presided over a gathering held in honour of the President of the Hindu Mahasabha. Further, it was pointed out that the Congress Government had provided a huge sum of money for the Hanuman Akhara, which is the training ground for the Mahasabha. At a conference held under the presidentship of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and attended by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru a huge decorative arch was put up in the name of Mr. Savarkar, the Mahasabha President.

The Central Provinces Congress Committee, according to Mr. Abdul Rahman's statement, had issued instructions that while a Hindu could enlist himself as member of the Mahasbha and the Congress at one and the same time, no Muslim could become a member both of the Muslim League and the Congress.

Mr. Savarkar was presented with civic addresses at Khamgaon, Darwha, Yeotmal, Nagpur, Akola, where Congressmen took and active part in the functions. Prominent and leading Congressmen also addressed reception meetings held in honour of Mr. Savarkar. The Hon'ble Mr. R.M. Deshmukh, Congress Minister, presided over a reception given to Mr. Savarkar at Nagpur. A decorative arch was erected and named after Mr. Savarkar at Shendurjana where the Berar Congress Committee held a Congress conference under the presidentship of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and which was attended by no less a person than the then Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Prime Minister has admitted that individual Congressmen attended the meetings addressed by Mr. Savarkar. This does prove that Mr. Savarkar still attracts the Congress people in the C. P. and Berar.

UNDUE INFLUENCE ON MUSLIMS

In the village Rehli, Saugor district, it was pointed out to us that Muslim labourers were turned out by their Hindu employers because they had voted for the Muslim League candidate in the Assembly bye-election. The poor men had to migrate to the city and elsewhere to seek their livelihood.

It was also represented to us that a sum of Rs. 500 used to be paid to the Mohammad Ali Serai but since the Congress came into power the amount has been stopped and a resolution passed transferring the amount to the Shradhanand Asthan.

COMMUNAL RIOTS.

A resolution was moved by Mr. N.P. Misra in the C.P. and Berar Legislative Assembly recommending to the Government to institute an inquiry into the causes that led to the disturbances at Jubbulpore during the last Dassehra festival. Khan Saheb Abdur Rahman Khan wanted to propose an amendment which wanted to extend the inquiry to the general causes of communal dissensions in the province. It was ruled that the amendment was not within the scope of the resolution. The Prime Minister gave an assurance that he would personally make an inquiry. The Hon'ble Member representing the Anglo-Indian community thought that an inquiry as to why a certain trouble arose in Jubbulpore was almost futile. There were deeper causes underlying the communal troubles than just isolated outbreaks here and there.

The motion was adopted and the inquiry was held by the Hon'ble the Premier. Up to the time of our visit to the province the findings of the inquiry were not available. Speaking on the Holi riot, Mr. V. R. Kalapa, a non-Muslim, in his speech remarked that a riot had taken place five months before, but the same officials continued to remain in charge of Jubbulpore, though they had failed to manage a similar situation. Mr. A. N. Haq thought that it was no use hiding the fact that

there was a feeling among the members of the majority community that the Congress Government meant Hindu Raj.

The C. P. Premier thought that certain persons wanted to seek notoriety by creating communal discord.

Later an adjournment motion was moved. Mr. Iftikhar Ali said that the Moharram procession was boycotted by Hindus. There had never been any communal disturbance on that occasion. Notices were served under section 107 Cr. P. C. against a number of Muslims. Stones were thrown on the Muslim procession. Reports were made to the police and the Muslims maintained peace. Two or three persons were seen throwing stones. One of them was a resident of a distant mohalla. That shows what the man was there for. In spite of the fact that the Moharram processionists had *mashals* and *lathis* and were repeatedly provoked, they maintained a peaceful attitude. In one case the head of a pig was thrown on a *tazia* and yet the Muslims did not retaliate.

Mr. Iftikhar Ali further reminded the House that only one incident of alleged stone-throwing at the last Dassehra festival had created a riot which lasted for more than a week. The Holi procession was arranged, according to the Speaker, in a manner in which it had never been arranged before. Hitherto the Holi procession used to move in particular mohallas only and then dispersed. This year the procession was taken from one end of the town to the other.

Mr. Hardas (Depressed Class) took the view that the inquiry into the causes of Hindu-Muslim dispute might involve the examination of some responsible members of the Congress Party. According to his view, the Muslims sought the protection of His Excellency the Governor and not of the Ministers because they had no confidence in them. The Speaker also referred to the dispute over the proposed regulation regarding registration of marriages in the Jubbulpore Municipality. He, therefore, appealed that the inquiry may not be undertaken. He added that the first inquiry had remained incomplete.

We do not propose to give details of atrocities committed. We shall confine ourselves to some general observations. We are inclined to agree with the observations made by the Rev. Rogers, the representative of the Anglo-Indian community, during the debate that took place on the appointment of an inquiry committee in connection with the riots, that "the causes lie deeper". We are inclined to think that the general policy of the Government has not been conducive to the creation of a peaceful of atmosphere. Stone-throwing may incidentally lead to a riot and the riot may be attributed to that fact, but where previous arrangements are made by any party they should naturally lead to the conclusion that riots are pre-arranged.

Before we conclude we may add that cases against all those arrested and charged with rioting in Jubbulpore have been withdrawn by the prosecution. The Muslims have strongly protested against this action of the Congress Government. It is action like this that leads to more communal tension and makes Muslims lose confidence in the government of the day.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

One of the handicaps under which Muslim minorities in the provinces labour is the provision in the Legislative Assembly Rules fixing the minimum number of members who must stand up to support adjournment motions before the House grants leave. In Bombay, the minimum necessary is 36, while there are only 30 Muslim members in the Legislative Assembly. Thus even if all the Muslim members join hands they cannot provide the requisite number for an adjournment motion. Most of the grievances of the Muslims of these minority provinces, specially those of Madras, Central Provinces and Berar, Orissa, Bihar and Bombay cannot, therefore, be ventilated on the floor of the Assemblies.

Since the Congress Government came into power many injustices have been done to the Muslims but very few of them could be discussed in the Assembly due to the provisions in the Assembly Rules.

The Congress Government has issued orders to the District officials to consult the Presidents of the local Congress Committees regarding (1) the nomination to the local bodies and municipalities, (2) the allocation of seats on different bodies. No such orders have been issued about consulting the Muslim League officials, with the result that most of the nominations go to such Muslims who are definitely hostile to the League and, further, they are willing to subordinate the interests of the Muslim community to those of the Congress and the Hindu community.

Then there have been many instances in which a Government official, who refused to be intimidated by the majority and upheld the just rights of the Muslims, has been victimised by being transferred. There is an Idgah at Rander in the Surat district. The waste land adjoining it belongs to the Government and was, until recently, used as a stand for vehicles during the Id festival. This land was also utilised by the peasants for storing their crops after cutting them.

The Hindu peasants applied to the Government for permission to fence this land and thus prevent the Muslims from its use during the Id day. The Deputy Collector in charge of the Pargana, Mr. Suleman K. Desai, refused to grant this permission. His decision was upheld by the higher revenue authorities on appeal and the Collector cancelled the permission for the land's use for harvesting. The Hindus filed a suit against the Government and the then Government filed a written statement denying the right of the Hindus and decided to contest the suit. When the Congress Government came into power, the Revenue Minister admitted the claim of the Hindus and allowed them to fence the land. Mr. Desai was transferred from the district to Sholapur.

Then the European Superintendent of Police, Khaira district, who removed the wreath of leaves tried across the road to prevent the passing of the *tazia* procession by the Hindus of the Vehra village, was replaced by a Hindu officer soon after the incident.

BANDE MATRAM

The School Boards of the local bodies in the Presidency have issued circulars ordering that the day's work in all schools should begin with the singing of the *Bande Matram*. The School Board of the Ahmedabad District Board issued one such circular, which led to a protest by the Muslims of the district but they did not get any redress. Then, on October 2, 1938, the Ahmedabad Municipality arranged celebrations in honour of Mahatma Gandhi's 70th Birthday. All teachers and pupils of the municipal school, including Muslims, attended the celebrations, which began with the singing of the *Bande Matram*. Moreover, all the students were asked to wear Gandhi caps on the occasion and to join in the singing of the song. Other such instances were brought to our notice but we have purposely refrained from incorporating them in this report.

LOCAL BODIES.

The Congress Government has abolished the system of nomination to the local bodies. The Muslim League

members in the Assembly too supported this decision of the Government. Unfortunately, however, the redistribution of seats in the various local boards has affected the minorities adversely. In boards where the Muslims had four seats in a total of 40 they have now been given only three out of 50 seats.

Then the seven wards of the Bombay Municipal Corporation have been divided into 19 wards. It may be added that this is the only municipality where there is joint electorate. Under the old system the Muslims used to get an average of 26 to 27 seats in a house of 114. But now as the result of the sub-division of the wards the Muslims would only be able to return 18 or 19 members. This is not our or the Bombay Muslims' estimate but that of the Congress Minister of Local Self-Government. It is thus clear that the redistribution of the wards is designed to cut down the number of Muslim seats. Mûslims have been thrown in such minorities in different wards as to make them ineffective at the time of election.

Then the old City of Bombay Act provided that four seats on the Schools Committee of the Bombay Municipal Corporation should be reserved for Muslims. This representation of the Muslims was necessary as they have their special educational problems. Under the new Act even this reservation of seats has disappeared with the result that the Muslims would hardly be able to secure more than one or two seats on this committee. This would also adversely affect the Urdu schools under the Corporation.

IDENTICAL INTERESTS WITH MAHASABHA.

The English School at Makhjan, Taluqa Sangmeshwar, district Ratnagri, gets a grant from the Education Department of the Provincial Government. It opened a *lathi* Sangh in 1935 for physical education and affiliated this Sangh to the Hindu Sabha at Nagpur. A condition for admission to this Sangh is that all pupils who want to join it should be members of the Hindu community. The Muslim students thus cannot get any benefit out of

the Sangh, which is supported by public money. No separate arrangements have been made for the physical training of the Muslim students of this school.

SWARAJ EQUAL TO RAM RAJ.

Before the Congress took over the Government of the province, there was a provision in the budget of the interim Ministry for grant of scholarships to Muslim students as the Muslims are backward in secondary education. The Congress Cabinet cancelled this provisions in the budget. This is one of the examples of how much the Congress cares for the educational advancement of the Muslims.

SUPPRESSION OF URDU PRESS.

It was represented to us by the Bombay Provincial Muslim League that at the time of communal troubles in March last some Muslim papers were singled out for securities under Section 144 Cr.P.C. and they were ordered to show their news relating to the riots to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, before publication, while no action was taken against papers edited and owned by Hindus in spite of the fact that allegations of fomenting communal feelings were made against them.

There are very few Muslim papers in the province and their financial position is not very sound. Three papers, two Urdu and one Gujrati, are published from Bombay. One weekly is published from Ahmedabad, and one from Surat. These news papers used to get advertisements from the previous Government but these have been stopped by the Congress Government. Since the *Deen*, Kalupur, Panchpatty, took up the cause of the Muslim League, it has ceased to get Government or Municipal advertisements. Similarly the *Muslim Gujrati* has been banned from all recognised libraries.

CLOSING OF BURIAL GROUNDS.

There is a 500-year-old Muslim burial ground in Ahmedabad, known as Pir Kamal's *Qabristan*. For the last four or five years the Municipality of Ahmedabad has started development of the locality round about the

burial ground under the Town Planning Scheme and many rich Hindus have built houses in this part of the town. The Municipality, which has a Hindu majority, passed a resolution closing this burial ground. The District Muslim League took up the case of the Muslims and wanted to stage a demonstration before the Town Hall on the day that the resolution was going to be discussed. The Municipal authorities, coming to know of the League's intention, called the help of the local authorities. The district authorities prevented the procession from entering the Town Hall compound and from holding a protest meeting in a nearby Maidan. The League thereupon held a meeting in the Jama Masjid and passed a resolution protesting against the closing of the burial ground. No action has been taken by the authorities for the restoration of this Muslim burial ground.

SCHOLARSHIPS SUSPENDED.

Applications for exemption from fees in schools are generally invited at the beginning of the session and all those who secure exemption enjoy it for the whole academic year. At Chiloda, Ahmedabad district, these exemptions were granted in the month of June, 1937, and among the recipients were several Muslim pupils. But after the communal tension in the locality during the month of September, 1937, all the students were asked to apply afresh and the previous exemptions were cancelled. As a result of this extraordinary procedure all the Hindu students retained their freeships as their case was recommended by the members of the School Committee, while the applications of the Muslim boys were rejected because they were not recommended by the members of the School Committee. It is needless for us to point out what hardship this uncalled for procedure caused to the parents of the Muslim students.

COMMUNAL RIOTS.

The Hindus of the village Satpati in the Palgarh Taluqa, District Thana, played music before a mosque on August 9, 1937. The Musalmans tried to prevent it

with the result that there was a minor Hindu-Muslim riot. The Muslims being in a very small minority had to yield and the Hindus kept on playing music, deliberately outraging the religious feelings of the Muslims, and no protection was given to the Muslims by the Government. The Muslims persisted in their demand to prevent a recurrence of the incident, but with no result. The Hindus in return socially boycotted the Muslims.

The Hindus of Vehra, a village in Khaira district, tied a *toran* (wreath of leaves) across the road in such a manner that on the day of Moharram *tazias* could not pass. The Muslims applied to the District Magistrate, who had the *toran* removed. The Hindus appealed to the higher authorities, who dismissed the appeal. When the Congress came into power the Hindus appealed to the Government, who cancelled the previous orders of the revenue authorities and ordered the *toran* to be tied. The Muslims could not carry their *tazias* on the last day of Moharram this year. The Muslims appealed to the officers to get the *toran* removed at least temporarily to allow the *tazias* to pass but nothing was done. When the *tazias* were lying there for two days the European Superintendent of Police had the *toran* removed and the *tazias* passed but the Superintendent was immediately replaced by a Hindu officer.

Another Hindu-Muslim riot took place at Nadiad in Khaira district during Moharram this year. Stones were thrown on *tazias* and many shops looted. Sixteen complaints were lodged by the Muslims and 9 complaints were lodged by the Hindus. The police registered two Muslim cases and 5 Hindu cases.

A similar incident occurred at Boisar in the Taluqa of Palgarh when Hindus played music before that mosque and on a protest being lodged by the Muslims the Hindus boycotted them socially.

There was an agreement between the Hindus and Muslims of Dhanduka, a town in Ahmedabad, that music will not be played within a certain distance of a mosque. But the Hindus broke this agreement in August, 1938. Telegrams were sent to the district authorities and the Home Member but no steps were taken to prevent the breach of the agreement.

UNITED PROVINCES.

The Muslims form only fourteen per cent. of the total population of the United Provinces and of these the large majority are town dwellers. Of the urban population Muslims constitute thirty per cent. as compared with fifty-nine per cent. of Hindus. Before the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, though religious feelings at times grew tense, they did not manifest themselves in the Legislature. In the present Legislative Assembly, however, things are different.

The Muslims of these Provinces were the first to organise themselves and enjoy the right of separate electorate in Municipalities and District Boards. Attempts to restrict the civil rights of Muslims through Municipal regulations or legislative measures have not been so marked here as in some other provinces where the Muslims are in minority. So far they have been affected only by the general policy of the Congress Government.

Congress Flag :

There have been many disputes at various places regarding the hoisting of the Congress flag on public buildings.

It became the general tendency among local bodies to pass resolutions in favour of hoisting the Congress or Muslim League flag on public buildings. In the Municipal Board of Cawnpore the Muslims raised a storm of protest when orders were issued asking all aided institutions to hoist the Congress flag on their buildings on pain of forfeiting their grants-in-aid. On the other hand, when in the Municipal Board of Bareilly a resolution was passed that the League flag be hoisted on Municipal buildings difficulties were placed in the way of hoisting the flag.

Communal Riots :

There has been a crop of communal riots all over the province since the Congress came into power, the

most serious being those at Pilibhit, Dadri, Pipra, Allahabad and Tanda. At Allahabad the situation still continues to cause anxiety.

Before going into details of these riots we give below a summary of the proceedings of the U. P. Legislative Assembly on the communal disturbances debate.

In moving the adjournment motion Mr. Farooqi said that a section of irresponsible persons had created the impression that there was now Congress Raj and the majority party had become so much conscious of its power that it thought that it could do anything and commit any excesses without any protest from the minority.

Proceeding, he said that the whole mischief was caused by the circular of Government that the district officials should consult the Congress Committees. This had resulted in a demoralisation of the local officials and they could not take an independent attitude on delicate matters. Congressmen had taken up the position of non-official advisers to local officials. In the circumstances selfish people were utilising the situation to their own benefit or mischievous ends.

He added that communal clashes first started at Dadri. In Benares colour was thrown on some Muslims. He complained that adequate police arrangements were not made when processions were taken out. At Allahabad, too, there had been similar incidents. All this had happened because Government, by their action, had created a sense of insecurity and failed to maintain peace and order.

Mr. Sampurnanand, Education Minister, said that he had risen to speak not because he was bursting with feelings but because he wanted to place certain facts before the House. The origin of the trouble as stated by the mover was quite incorrect. The trouble started in a clash between the two groups of Hindus on March 16, in which one Hindu was killed. Continuing, he said that it had been alleged that licence had been given to Congressmen to do whatever they desired and that was

the cause of the present situation. To him it appeared, however, that a large number of irresponsible persons had brought about the present situation by fostering the view that the Congress Government could be bullied and brought to their knees by false propaganda.

Mr. Muhammad Ishaque, supporting the motion, said that the charges that the whole trouble started with the Government circular to district officials was justified. Congressmen had begun thinking that they could do anything with impunity. Government's action in interfering with the day-to-day administration was responsible for the present situation.

The Minister of Justice said that it had been alleged that Government had failed to maintain law and order and that the genesis of all trouble had been the circular of Government to local officials. He asked whether the Opposition members had any direct information on the points from the 48 District Magistrates and Superintendents. He questioned the correctness of the statement. Irresponsible statements had been made by the League members. Incorrect statements were being published in the Urdu Press. A cry had been raised that Islam was in danger. Speeches had been made that Congress Raj was Hindu Raj and that Muslims should, if necessary, shed their blood. A campaign of lies was being carried on in the Urdu Press. Stories of kidnapping and murder, which had never happened, were being circulated. The minority community was taking advantage of Government's solicitude for the freedom of the Press and speech. He wished that they had dealt with such cases with strong hand. He pointed out that when a Minister of this Government visited Cawnpore leaflets were distributed inciting the Muslims to murder him. Referring to the incident at Allahabad, he said that there would be a judicial inquiry into the matter, but the riot casualties showed that out of 12 persons killed eight were Hindus and four Muslims. Day after day communal issue were raised in the Assembly and questions like the percentage of Muslims in various services were frequently

asked. The result of fanning the communal feelings was what the Opposition wanted. The adjournment motion had been brought not with the object of ventilating any grievance but to make a political capital out of it. He appealed to the members not to play with human lives which were dear and sacred to every one.

Mr. Aziz Ahmad (Muslim League) said that if instead of indulging in heated speeches they had tried to find out the root cause of the trouble the debate would have served a useful purpose. From his experience of Bareilly he could say that Congressmen were under the impression that their wishes could be defied by nobody. He alleged that Congressmen in Bareilly urged Hindus to observe *hartal* to protest against orders which were usually issued in previous years on such occasions. Referring to Allahabad, he said that the Moharram passed off peacefully due to the restraint shown by the Muslims. During Muharram section 144, Cr. P. C., was promulgated but despite the fact that colour was thrown on hundreds of Muslims on March 16 and persons stabbed section 144, Cr.P.C., was not promulgated in Allahabad till March 17. He was of the opinion that the authorities had been demoralised and Congressmen were riding rough-shod over them.

Mr. Zahiruddin Farooqi, replying, said that the speeches delivered on the other side gave him no hope of a solution of the problem. He alleged that the Congress people, intoxicated by power and thinking that they had brought the British Government to its knee, were bullying the minority. It was not correct to say that the minority was bullying the majority. The Minister of Justice had blamed only the Urdu Press for fanning the communal flame and had not apportioned any blame to the Hindi Press which was rankly communal in its outlook.

The Premier deeply deplored the motion. It had been asked what was the cause of communal tension. The debate of the evening illustrated it. It was the determination of the Opposition to create some

sort of confusion and discredit Government. That was the key to the situation. Proceeding, the Premier said that unfortunately this year the Holi and Moharram fell on the same day. Added to this was the vigorous propaganda carried out by the Muslim League on communal basis. He did not dispute the League's right to carry on legitimate propaganda. But the League propaganda had gone to the extent of describing the Muslim members of Government as Kafirs. Referring to the firing at Allahabad, he said that it was better to risk injury to a few persons than to see a number of people massacred. He asked the permission of the House to resort to firing more frequently in cases of communal riots.

BALLIA.

The following is the statement of Mr. Rizwanullah, M.L.A., of Gorakhpur, who went to Ballia soon after the Dadri incident:—

"I started for Ballia on behalf of the League on the evening of the 27th November and arrived in the Morning of the 28th. I met a large number of persons from the public as well as from the gentry of the town and saw the District and Police authorities. I further made inquiries from members of the relief committee formed in this connection and had conversation with its president, Khan Bahadur Nazir-uddin, Advocate. This work of relief, it will be known, has been organised under the District Muslim League, Ballia. As a result of my inquiry I wish to give out the following important facts connected with these occurrences:—

"Every year the Katic Purnmashi, a big fair, is held some two miles from Ballia town at village Dadri. This fair is specially important for cattle dealings and a large number of good as well as infirm and useless cattle are sold. The infirm and useless cattle are mostly sold by Hindus and purchased by Muslim butchers. This year too, as usual, a large number of useless bullocks and cows were purchased by butchers. A considerable number of such cattle were already

removed from the fair by the butchers but about 2,000 cattle purchased were still there and for which arrangements were being made to despatch. They were within the market enclosures and roughly about Rs. 2,000 worth. The price of all these cattle was already paid to the sellers. Before they could be taken away, at about 10 a.m. on the 20th November, a large crowd of about a thousand well-armed Hindus attacked the butchers within the enclosure and beat them mercilessly, thus rendering the butchers unfit to protect their cattle. The assaulters took away all the cattle forcibly from the butchers' possession. A similar occurrence took place near the village Maldapur, about four miles from Ballia, at 2 p.m. and it is reported that a large number of butchers, of whom later on four were medically examined, were badly beaten and about more than a hundred. cows snatached away. Another occurrence took place at Phaphna Railway Station (B. N. W. Railway) where late in the night, at about 10 p.m., in which about 190 heads of cattle were seized from Railway wagons and taken away by the party. As a consequence three butchers received serious injuries.

"The total number of injured butchers in connection with these three occurrences come to more than forty of whom one succumbed to his injuries in the hospital. These butchers belong to Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Azamgarh and Basti districts. It is noteworthy in this connection that not a single Hindu is reported to have been attacked or injured.

"In order to come to a better understanding of these occurrences it is necessary to note that a few days before the commencement of the Dadri fair meetings were organised in the neighbouring villages to preach cow protection (Gau Raksha) in which, it is alleged, responsible Congress workers took an active part. It is said that in the course of the attack at Dadri Mela the assaulters were raising cries of Jai in which they were repeating "Chittu Panday's (President of the District Congress Committee) Jai." It is strange to know that responsible Congress workers and volunteers

and Sewa Samiti Volunteers were present in large numbers in the fair and none either cared to try to stop the occurrence or to help and relieve the injured.

"On this occasion the Congress and Sewa Samiti people have displayed an utter disregard of nationalistic spirit expected of them.

"I hope that the present Government would not fail to look with suspicion at the activities of the Ballia District Congressmen and would try to find out the realities underlying these occurrences. The District and Police authorities in Ballia no doubt rendered appreciable services in obtaining full control over the situation within the least possible time. No doubt the spirit of retaliation that had sprang in the Muslim masses at the sight of these ruthless attacks was pacified by the responsible Musalmans and by the timely preventive measures adopted by the authorities to stop any further upheavals and clashes. It is proper that the present Government should strengthen the hands of the local authorities so that they may be able to make a complete and correct inquiry into the matter and may be successful in adequately punishing the offenders."

Mr. Rizwanullah also waited in deputation on the Minister of Justice who visited the district soon after the incident and laid all these facts before him.

This incident was the first of its kind in the province and the silence of the Congress Ministry as well as the Provincial Congress organisation was very surprising for a truly national organisation should have made a prompt inquiry into the behavior of its members and taken disciplinary action against them if the allegations were found correct.

ALLAHABAD

To present the Allahabad riots in a true prospective, it is necessary to deal with the events that immediately preceded them and which had an important bearing on them. It is an open secret that soon after the Congress came into power efforts were made to

re-start the celebration of Dassehra and other festivals at all places where the Hindus had given them up as a protest against the restrictions placed on such processions by the district authorities in order to assure peaceful celebrations. In the U.P. the services of the Muslim Parliamentary Secretaries were utilised to cajole the Muslims to agree to the lifting of these restrictions at several places. Allahabad was one of the cities where the Hindus had given up the celebration of Dassehra as a protest against the restrictions imposed by the district authorities.

Further, this year the Moharram, a month of intense mourning among the Muslims, coincided with the Holi, which is a festival of rejoicing among the Hindus. It is thus clear that the celebration of these two religious festivals of different nature by the two communities, whose relations had already been strained due to the political atmosphere in the country, was fraught with grave dangers and required careful watch.

The Moharram started on March 4, 1938, and the Muslims of Allahabad requested the authorities that no marriage procession should be allowed on the streets which were used by the Moharram processions. This demand was based on an old convention in the City. The District Magistrate. however, refused to accede to this request. On March 6, while a marriage procession was passing in front of the Hospital some brick-bats were thrown on it by some unknown persons. Though the Muslims were prosecuted for this offence yet they were all acquitted. On March 7, the District Magistrate promulgated orders under section 144 Cr.P.C., which prohibited the carrying of more than 25 *lathis* with each of the Moharram processions. The public was further warned that the police and military had been authorised to fire on rioters.

As a protest against the severity of these orders the Muslims of Allahabad gave up the celebration of Moharram and the Muslim shop-keepers observed a *hartal* as a protest. It may be added here that the carrying of *lathis* has formed part of the Moharram

processions at Allahabad since time immemorial. At this stage Mr. Zahoor Ahmad, M.L.A., intervened and after some other influential Muslims had given an undertaking, assuring the authorities of peaceful Moharram celebrations, the order under section 144 Cr.P.C., was withdrawn.

On March 12 (9th Moharram), while a Moharram procession was passing through Katra, the Hindus of the locality started a quarrel over a *tazia* and snatched it away from the Muslims. Some Hindus were arrested on the spot and the Muslims remained entirely peaceful in spite of this grave insult to their religious susceptibilities. Next day as the *tazias* were being carried to the Karbala, a large number of Hindus collected at the spot where the arrests had been made last night. They demanded the release of the Hindus arrested the previous night. The situation was tactfully handled by the Muslim leaders and the authorities and a breach of peace was averted.

The Moharram celebrations thus passed off peacefully and the District Magistrate, in a letter to Mr. Zahoor Ahmad, M.L.A., acknowledged the assistance given by the latter in re-starting the Moharram celebrations and settling many disputes during the celebrations that threatened a breach of peace. The District Magistrate, further, appreciated the good behaviour of the Muslims at Katra on the night of the 9th Moharram when a *tazia* was snatched away and the restraint shown by them in spite of the grave provocation. The Magistrate further added that the promise made by the Muslims was faithfully carried out by them.

It is apparent from the above-mentioned facts that (1) the Muslims remained peaceful throughout and did not resort to violence even under grave provocation; (2) the influential and educated section of the Muslim community exerted itself in the cause of peace and succeeded in its efforts; (3) the attitude of the Hindus was militant and provocative; and (4) the Muslims, in spite of the fact that they were better organised during the Moharram never sought a quarrel.

The Holi Riots

The Holi celebrations started on March 15. In Allahabad, as in other places in the province, no coloured water is thrown on Muslims as they resent it on religious grounds. However, on March 15, coloured water was thrown on one Mohammad Ismail of Shahgunj as he was passing through the Mohalla Bhartibhawan. Many other such complaints were made to the police by the Muslims of the city, who impressed on the Kotwal the necessity of imposing restrictions (similar to those imposed on the Muslims during the Moharram) under section 144, Cr. P. C., on the Hindus. The authorities paid no heed to these requests.

On March 17, a Holi procession was taken out in Allahabad and an unusually large number of Hindus (the official estimate was 800 to 1,000 persons) took part. Most of these persons were armed with *lathis*, another unusual thing for Holi processionists. Moreover, the Muslims alleged, that high caste Hindus treated the depressed classes with free drinks at the toddy shops and then took them in the procession. As it was entering Bahadurgunj the procession was intercepted by the police who asked it to change its route. The processionists thereupon took another route but started assaulting the Muslims. A young man, Shakir, was killed while a Muslim student was severely beaten. An old Muslim woman was severely beaten, too. In short, there was serious rioting.

Orders under section 144, Cr.P.C., were promulgated only in the evening. These orders did not empower the police or the military to fire, as was done during the Moharram, on the rioters. The very presence of such a large number of armed persons in the procession should have been enough to warn the authorities that the Hindus meant mischief. But no precautionary measures were taken by the authorities.

General rioting broke out on March 18 and there were numerous cases of assaults and arson all over the

city. The Hindus made organised raids on Muslim quarters and a glaring example of this was the collection of a large number of Hindus in the mohalla Hatiya. But before they could do mischief police help arrived and the situation was saved.

In these riots four Muslims were killed and 43 injured were admitted to hospitals while the casualties among the Hindus were seven killed and 37 injured.

As for the behaviour of the members of the two communities towards each other during the riots, it is not possible to make a general statement. We can, however, speak of a few cases which came to our knowledge during the course of our inquiry. The Zero Road is mostly inhabited by Hindus and many highly educated and respectable persons of this community live on this road. The office of the Allahabad City Congress Committee is also located here. The houses of Mr. R. S. Pathak, Secretary of the Congress Committee, Mr. Kedar Nath, a leading Mukhtar, and Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, an Honorary Magistrate, are also situated on this road. It was in this quarter that one Muslim, Mohsin, who was going to see his injured brother in the hospital, was attacked by Hindus and killed at about 10 a.m. on March 19. The crime was committed near the house of the Congress Secretary and the house of Mr. Rameshwar Prasad too was not more than 20 paces from the place of the accident.

On the other hand, in the Attala mohalla, which is a predominantly Muslim quarter (the inhabitants being Muslim butchers and Ansaris), not a single Hindu was molested. In fact, some of the Hindu inhabitants of the mohalla, who thought themselves unsafe, were given shelter by the Muslims in their own houses. A poster issued by the Hindus of this locality fully bears out the brotherly treatment meted out to them by the Muslims. Similarly nothing happened to the Hindus of the mohallas Thanpur and Akbarpur where the Muslims were in majority.

Another regrettable incident, which has been repeated twice within a period of about six months,

was the pollution of a mosque by throwing a pig's head into it. It is incidents like this that embitter the relations between the two communities and lead to rioting.

We also learnt with regret that the Hindus of Allahabad resorted to an economic boycott of the Muslims. If this boycott is persisted in it is bound to further strain the relations between the two communities.

BENARES.

The Committee visited Benares twice and spent four days in collecting evidence. The relations between the Hindus and the Muslims in Benares had been strained since March, 1938. At the time of Bakr-Id hand-written posters were stuck on walls and electric poles in which Muslims were asked not to indulge in cow sacrifice, and in case they disregarded these directions, they were threatened that their lives would be in danger and their property and houses would be looted and burnt. One such poster was sent by the Secretary of the Muslim League to the District authorities. The District Magistrate held a public meeting in which both the communities were asked to maintain peace, and a peace committee, consisting of influential members of both the communities, was appointed to carry on propaganda for the maintenance of law and order. Peace was thus maintaind during the celebration of Bakr-Id but the heart-burning which had been generated continued as before. On the night of the 9th of Moharram a *tazia* procession was taken out with great pomp. When this procession, after starting from mohalla Shewala, reached Khari Kuan the leaders of the processions were injured by thorns and pieces of broken glasses which had been scattered on the road. The volunteers of the Muslim League swept the land with their clothes and only then the procession could proceed after long delay. The District authorities who accompanied the procession witnessed the incident themselves. This act of cruelty was naturally attributed to some Hindus and this further embittered the relations between the two communities. The third incident in the same direction occurred when the Hindus objected to the Muslims putting their *tazia*,

called the *tazia* of Baqar Husain, in the river from the Ghat. The practice was that this *tazia* instead of being buried, as is usual, was thrown into the river from the Ghat. This year the Hindus objected to it and the trouble was averted only through the efforts of the authorities. These incidents and others revealed that the relations between the communities were anything but friendly and the feelings could be inflamed even by some slight incident.

The Holi celebrations began from March 15. In Benares the Hindus generally, since the acceptance of office by the Congress, asserted that Swaraj, in other words Ram Raj, had been established. The men in the street thought that the Muslims were their subjects, and could treat them in whatever manner they liked. Consequently the Hindus of the *goonda* type began to bully, even molest, the Muslim wayfarers. Upto the evening of March 15, the situation had not grown worse, but on this evening a Muslim named Mukhtar Ahmad, son of Muhammad Yusuf, a resident of mohalla Bhika Shah Phalwan, went to the house of Mahabir Rastogi, in mohalla Thakuran, to realise his wages. Near the house of Rastogi he found an injured Muslim lying on the road. He tried to find out what the matter was. In the meantime several Hindus arrived and began to belabour him with *lathis*. He was injured, though his injuries were simple. A report of the incident was duly lodged in the police station by Mukhtar Ahmad on the morning of March 16. The injured man found by Mukhtar was a resident of mohalla Madanpura and was a weaver by caste, but as Mukhtar forgot his name he could not be traced. It is to be particularly noted that at the time when this incident took place no general riot had broken out and hence the Hindu mob, which had begun attacking the Muslim wayfarers, shows their feelings towards the Muslim community.

On the morning of March 16 there was a fight between two Hindu parties in which one Raja Ram was stabbed fatally. Rumour went round that there was a communal riot. Although this rumour was strongly

contradicted, it upset the balance of mind of the excited mob all the same and the feelings of hatred, which had already been existing, became uncontrollable. On the same morning a Holi procession was organised which was accompanied by Hindus armed with *lathis*. It also contained horses and donkies and people with their faces and clothes coloured and blackened rode on them. The processionists were indulging in throwing not only coloured water on the passersby but also mud and filthy water of the Municipal drains was being thrown indiscriminately. This procession, shrieking, shouting, and indulging in all sorts of offensive manners proceeded slowly. The history of the procession is that it started some years ago, but it was never made to pass through any mohalla inhabited by Muslims. Again it is a long established custom in Benares that coloured water is never thrown on Muslims, if it is thrown, ever by chance, on any Muslim he very strongly resents it. This year this particular procession did not discriminate between a Muslim and a Hindu in throwing coloured water. The procession reached the Mohalla Qazipura Kalan, and stopped in front of the house of a Teli, who entertained the processionists. Here also coloured water was thrown on Muslims and the face of a Muslim boy was blackened forcibly. This was naturally resented by the boy. An altercation followed which attracted some other Muslims who joined in the protest. At this place the Hindu processionists attacked the Musalmans with *lathis*. After this the riot spread throughout the city like wild fire. In the beginning only the Muslims were injured but later on the Hindus also received injuries. But no open fight between the parties took place. Scattered attacks were made and in many cases persons were stabbed in lonely streets. Altogether 82 injured Muslims were admitted to the hospital and four were killed, and 73 Hindus were admitted into the hospital and seven were killed. The reason for this high role of casualties is that in Benares knives were freely used. Sporadic cases of assault continued for several days, but as the police were careful and military were called out at an early stage the situation came under control

soon. On March 16 a student of the Hindu University was injured at about 12 noon while two others who had gone out were supposed by the students to have been killed. Several hundred students of the Benares University, armed with *lathis* and sticks and shouting slogans like "blood for blood" came out of the University and began to roam about in search of Muslins. The Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate promptly reached the spot and with the greatest possible difficulty controlled the situation. The students were taken back by the authorities to the boarding house where the Superintendent of Police was informed that some students had confined a Muslim in a room with the object of killing him.

The Superintendent of Police persuaded the students to release the Muslim, but they denied that anyone had been confined. After a long discussion the Superintendent threatened to search the boarding house unless the Muslim was released. On this one Ghulam Rasool, a tonga driver, was released from one of the rooms. This man, who had lost all hope of release and was expecting to be butchered any minute, was extremely terrified at the time of release.

During the riots the Hindu members of the Congress adopted a partisan attitude towards their co-religionists which annoyed even those Muslims who had joined the Congress. These Muslims are now convinced that the Congress is a part and parcel of the Mahasabha and have, therefore, left it and have joined the Muslim League. They now believe that it is impossible for any Congress Muslim to be of any service to his community.

Before the riot in Benares broke out the relations between the Hindus and Muslims had become very strained and the atmosphere had been prepared to make a riot possible on the slightest provocation. The responsible sections of both communities tried their best to improve the relations but the mob could not be controlled and created mischief.

SITAPUR.

Mr. Ehsanur Rahman Kidwai, Secretary of the U. P. Muslim League, Mr. Mobashir Hosain Kidwai, Secretary of the U.P. Muslim League Party, and Mr. Ali Bahadur Habib-ullah, member of the Central Muslim League Organising Committee, visited the Pipra village immediately after receiving news of a riot there. They issued a statement which showed the attitude of the Hindu community in Sitapur district.

As the matter is *sub judice* we refrain from entering into its details.

PILIBHIT.

Mr. Karimur Raza Khan, M.L.A., who was co-opted a member of the Committee, conducted an inquiry into the riot at Raipur in Pilibhit district and the following is his report:

The causes that led to the riot at Raipur in Pilibhit district were not communal but the trouble took a communal turn later on. Parties to the riot were Hindus and Muslims. Raipur is a small village in police station Barkhaira, Bisalpur tehsil. The population of the village consists of weavers, Manihars and barbers who do no cultivation. Most of the members of the League were residents of Paotha and Khamarya. Very few from other villages had joined the Muslim League. Up till April, 1938, only seven persons were enrolled as members of the League.

Bazaar is held twice a week in Paotha. The profit of the bazaar goes to the Paotha zemindars, who are Muslims. In July, 1937, the month in which the Congress assumed office in the U.P., a bazaar was started by the Hindu zemindars of Raipur in their own village to defeat the Pactha bazaar. In spite of persuasion, intimidation and coercion from the Hindu zemindars and Hindu inhabitants of that locality, the Muslims of Raipur continued attending the Paotha bazaar. This led to strained relations between the Muslims and Hindus as the Hindus wanted to see their own bazaar flourishing and could not tolerate this attitude of the Muslims.

They had expected that the Muslims would always act according to the wishes of the Hindus of Raipur.

On March 15, 1938, there was some altercation between one Mahabat Shah and his son on the one hand and Abdur Rahim and other Muslims of Raipur on the other, but actual clash was averted. Apprehending trouble in the near future and finding themselves helpless, the Muslims of Raipur decided to shift to Khamarya village for good. They approached Khan Bahadur Imtiaz Ahmad, M.L.A., and other zemindars who lent them some bullock carts and men from Khamarya to help them in removing their household belongings. They started removing their luggage in the morning and when some of the luggage had been removed from Raipur, the Hindus of that village tried to stop them forcibly. About thirty Muslims were attacked by the Hindus who were about ten times more in numbers. Meanwhile Hindus from neighbouring villages had also arrived in a large number. The leader of this party had a naked sword in his hand.

The most unfortunate feature of the riot was that the local Congressman helped in procuring and arranging prosecution evidence when the case came up in Court.

Local Congressmen were present during the investigations. That the Muslims had a right to leave Raipur cannot be disputed. The Hindus had no justification in obstructing them. Why they took to this course ? Obviously, they thought that they were safe and could stop the Muslims by force with the help of the so-called Congressmen of that locality.

OTHER RIOTS

Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan, M.L.A., who was co-opted a member of the Inquiry Committee, reported as follows after an inquiry :

Bijnor :

The village Musapur in tehsil Nehthaur of Bijnor district is inhabited by a large majority of Hindus and

the Muslims form only a small minority. The Muslim population is concentrated in one locality. The Muslim inhabitants have built a mosque for which they are involved in litigation with the Hindu landlord. It is alleged that the agent of the zemindar made it a communal question, though the question really relates only to the relationship between the zemindar and the tenant. On March 15, 1938, a Holi procession was arranged and proceeded through the streets inhabited by Muslims. It was the first occasion when the Congress flag was carried along with the Holi procession. A few Muslims objected to the procession being led through those streets and it appears that this caused some trouble. It is alleged that in the afternoon a crowd of Hindus gathered. The Muslims shut themselves in their houses where, it is said, they were attacked. Marks and stains of blood inside the houses were found by Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan when he went to make the inquiry. The number of Muslims admitted into hospital was sixteen males and three females.

Cawnpore:

The incident that occurred in connection with the visit of the Hon'ble Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Minister of Communications, has already appeared in the papers. An official inquiry has also been made. We think that this incident is an instance of the over-enthusiasm of the Muslim supporters of the Congress in demonstrating the popularity of the Ministers.

Banda :

During Holi at Banda, coloured water was thrown on the Muslims, a mosque was desecrated and a house was set on fire.

Gorakhpur :

In the village Gujaikol, Gorakhpur district, a whole Muslim family was butchered and burnt in December, 1937.

Etah :

On a very insignificant matter a riot took place at Repura village, Aligunj tehsil, Etah district. Hindus

assaulted the Muslims with *lathis* and one Muslim, named Tahir, was killed and many were injured.

Bulandshahr :

Serious complaints were made before the Inquiry Committee about the vindictive tactics adopted by Congressmen against Muslims of Bulandshahr district. It was alleged that after the bye-election in this district the supporters of the League were placed under an effective social ban and had to undergo other hardships. Complaints were received that the supporters of the League had been forcibly prevented from drawing water from public wells.

Basti :

There is a *pucca* mosque in the village Mianpur, tehsil Domariagunj in Basti district. On the Holi day a crowd of Hindus entered the mosque and took away the wood which was collected there, loading it on bullock-carts. Then set fire to this wood. Next day the *khalyan* (barn) of wheat of a Muslim was also burnt.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Muslims form only seven per cent. of the total population of the Madras Presidency. They are mostly concentrated in Malabar where their strength is as high as one-third of the population. The Moplahs are educationally very backward and the previous Government had adopted special measures for their education. These, as will appear in the following pages, have been either totally given up or partially suspended by the Congress Government. We give below the details of injustices done to the Muslims of this Province by the Congress Government.

LOCAL BODIES.

According to the Local Boards and Municipalities Act, 25 per cent. seats are reserved for minorities including Muslims, depressed classes, Anglo-Indians, Christians and women, but of this only two or three seats are reserved for Muslims, whereas, according to the population basis, they deserve more. The cases of Malabar, Kurnool, South Kanara, Bellary and Cuddapah illustrate how the Muslim community is under-represented. Whereas the Muslim population of Malabar is 32.9 per cent, their representation in the district is only 17 per cent. The following table gives the percentage of population and representation of Muslims in other districts:

District.	Population.	Representation.
Kurnool	13.2	7.7
South Kanara	12.8	6.8
Bellary	10.6	6.2
Cuddapah	13.1	8.8

Even in the Corporation of Madras, although the Muslim population is 11 per cent. Muslims got only three out of a total of 45 seats in the last election, whereas there were seven Muslims out of 30 elected members in the previous Council. In order to remove this inequality and to secure adequate representation

for Muslims in Municipalities and District Boards a Bill was introduced in the Legislature by Muslims to have separate electorate on population basis with a minimum of 15 per cent. The Congress Government refused to give permission to introduce this Bill.

Recently, the Government has increased the number of members in various District Boards. They have not given a single seat more to the Muslims in these boards. On the other hand, they have so redistributed the existing Muslim seats in these District Boards as to render them ineffective from the point of view of Muslim representation.

The Ministry of Local Administration has been doing its utmost to reduce the Muslim majority into a minority in some of the Panchayats so that they may elect Hindus as their chairmen.

According to the Administration Report of the Local Boards in Malabar for the year 1935-36 the number of Muslim members in the Malabar District Board was 13, while the number of members, when the Congress is in power, in the said Board is only ten.

SERVICES.

The last Government had a scheme of rotation according to which out of twelve appointments two were given to Muslims. The present Government (Congress) wanted to abolish communal representation in the services. But it could not succeed in doing so against the strong public opinion amongst Non-Brahmans and Muslims. In spite of the fact that policy of communal representation in the services is retained, the Muslims are not getting their due share in departments such as Medical and Engineering. Various methods have been adopted by the Congress Government to circumvent this communal Government Order. The Madras Public Service Commission, which is expected to keep the balance among the various communities in the matter of recruitment according to this communal Government

Order, can do so only if the Government notifies vacancies. The Government in the various departments, by filling in vacancies for long periods on a temporary basis and by the appointment of Brahmans, prevents Muslims from getting their legitimate share in the appointments. In the Secretariat about 30 Brahman clerks were appointed on a temporary basis for a long period and were later made permanent by the present Government on the plea that these men had acquired a claim by working for a long period. The other method that is employed for preventing Muslims from getting appointment is by reducing the maximum age for various posts and by raising the standard of qualifications.

EDUCATION.

One of the most important recommendations of the Committee appointed by the previous Government was the introduction of religious instruction for Muslims in schools and colleges. That Government accepted this recommendation along with others but in the name of economy a good number of Muslim schools are now being closed down. There are many Muslim secondary schools under private Management which can only exist on equipment grant from the Government. Such grants have been denied to these schools, although the same Government has given a grant of several lakhs to the Pachorppas College, a purely Hindu institution, whose doors are completely closed to Muslim students. Even with regard to the Muslim orphanage similar treatment is meted out.

Admission of Muslim students in arts and professional colleges in the province used to be very difficult till the last Government appointed selection committees, including a Muslim representative on them. The selection committees were able to secure admission of Muslim students into these colleges. The Congress Government has abolished these selection committees with the result that admission of Muslim students is considerably restricted.

The Malabar District Board by a resolution, which it recently passed, resolved upon a ten-

year plan for amalgamation of all special schools with general schools, with the result that after ten years no Moplah school will be in existence.

Then the Standing Committee of the District Board of Malabar at its meeting, held on August 5, 1938, decided to abolish 73 schools on the ground that they were uneconomic. Of these, as many as 58 are Moplah schools. If sufficient opportunity had been given to these schools to justify their existence perhaps none of them would have been abolished. The proposal of the committee has been approved by the District Board.

Under an order from the Government the Malabar District Board abolished the posts of Conductors and Conductresses in Moplah schools. These persons were part-time teachers of Qoran in the schools and also effective propagandists for attracting pupils to the schools. Their abolition has worked as great a set-back to the increase of Moplah pupils, specially Moplah girls.

There are Arabic Pandits in some of the High Schools under the Malabar District Board. Some months back the Board issued an order to the effect that ten posts of these Pandits would be abolished in all schools which have less than 20 students in the secondary stage, knowing full well that the Moplahs are extremely backward in the matter of secondary education and that the minimum insisted on by the Board would never be secured in most of the schools.

COMMUNAL RIOTS.

Comparatively speaking there have been fewer riots in Madras Presidency than in other Congress-goverened provinces. Besides the Choolai riot (on which we reproduce the statement of Mr. S. A. W. Bukhari below) there have been communal outbreaks at two or three other places and it was represented to us that the sufferers in these riots were mostly Muslims.

The following are the relevant extracts from the statement of Syed Abdul Wahab Bukhari, M.L.A., on the communal riot at Choolai, Madras:

The first communal riot in Choolai (Madras) started on April 27, 1937, on Strahan's Road near the Saraswathi Talkies. The trouble started on a trifling matter. The Hindus were carrying a procession of their local deity when at about 11-30 p.m. a Muslim boy, who happened to be in the crowd, was roughly handled by the mob. Some others came to his rescue and the processionists, being in large numbers, overwhelmed the few Muslims, making free use of stones and brickbats. A Muslim hotel was looted and its bottles were used as missiles. The police got the situation in hand at about 2 a.m. This was the beginning of the trouble. Then riots occurred on August 16, 1937, and on October 2, 1937. During these months an actual state of guerilla war existed, resulting in loss of life and cessation of normal business for a long time.

In all about 250 Muslims were injured and as compared to this the number of Hindu wounded was very small.

ORISSA

Almost all Muslim inhabitants of Orissa are the descendants of the original invaders and consequently retain their own language and culture. They speak and write Urdu. During the unsettled conditions and misrule that existed before the annexation of the province by the British, the Muslim aristocracy stood by the Oriya people. Orissa came under the British rule in 1803 and formed part of Bengal. Then it was amalgamated with Bihar. The condition of the Muslims remained more or less unchanged, though after its transfer to Bihar the Muslims could not remain in touch with the headquarters of the Provincial Government. Still their condition was much better than it is now after its separation.

RELATIONS BETWEEN COMMUNITIES.

The communal relations were amicable in the Province for several years. The Muslim population is mostly concentrated in towns and only a few families

are scattered in rural areas. Though there have been no communal riots recently yet there have been complaints that certain persons who called themselves Congress workers started propaganda at Nischint-ka-Hat (20 miles from Cuttack) against the sale of cows to the Muslims. It is stated that these workers and their sympathisers molested the Muslim butchers who had gone there to purchase cows from Agrahat and even tried to take possession of their animals by force. No report was made in the police.

EDUCATION

The Muslims are economically poor and educationally backward. They have not many schools of their own. In primary schools children are allowed to choose either of the two languages, Oriya and Urdu. But in aided schools only Oriya is recognised as the medium of instruction and no provision is made for Muslim students who want to learn the Urdu Language. Even in several Government schools attempts have been made and are being made to force the Muslim students to take up the Oriya language and numerous complaints have been made to us of indirect pressure being brought upon the Muslims to fall in. The arrangements for the teaching of Urdu are almost negligible. Out of a total number of 181 schools in the province, there is only one institution in which the medium of instruction is Urdu. This places the Muslim students at a disadvantage in competitions with other students inasmuch as the Muslims have to learn one more language in addition to Urdu and English.

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